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MODERN HISTORY.

LONDON
W. & R. CHAMBERS 47 PATERNOSTER ROW
AND HIGH STREET EDINBURGH
1856

2227. f. 1.

Edinburgh:
Printed by W. and R. Chambers.

PREFACE.

THE present volume is arranged so as to follow and continue that on MEDIEVAL HISTORY, in the same series. It has been prepared by the same Author, and strictly on the same principle—the principle, namely, of omitting no fact to which a reference might be expected in such a compendium, but of making the narrative more full and particular wherever the true historical interest seemed to require it. On this principle, a larger space has been allotted to the last of the three periods traversed—the period from 1789 to the present time—than might at first seem proportionate. It has been felt, however, that this is particularly necessary in a volume intended for use in schools, and for the purposes of private instruction in History. An accurate and tolerably full knowledge of what has taken place in Europe since the epoch of the French Revolution, is absolutely essential to the intelligent comprehension of the events that are happening around us at the present day, and engaging our attention, whether we comprehend them or not.

As in the preceding volume, the compiler does not pretend to the merit of original research, but only to the careful treatment, according to his own method, of materials collected diligently from many sources. His authorities for the different periods have necessarily been different. For the last, he has consulted the various historians of the French Revolution, including Alison, whose numerical estimates of armies and the like he has usually

adopted; but in compiling the narrative of events since 1815, he has had to avail himself of information often to be derived only from scattered papers in periodicals. He has tried, however, not to pass over this portion of the narrative too lightly, but to bring it down closely to the present day.

Unusual pains have been bestowed on the Supplementary Chapter on *Art, Science, and Literature since the Reformation;* and the Author believes that he has there amassed a quantity of miscellaneous information not heretofore presented coherently in any educational work of the kind, and yet most properly belonging to a Manual of MODERN HISTORY.

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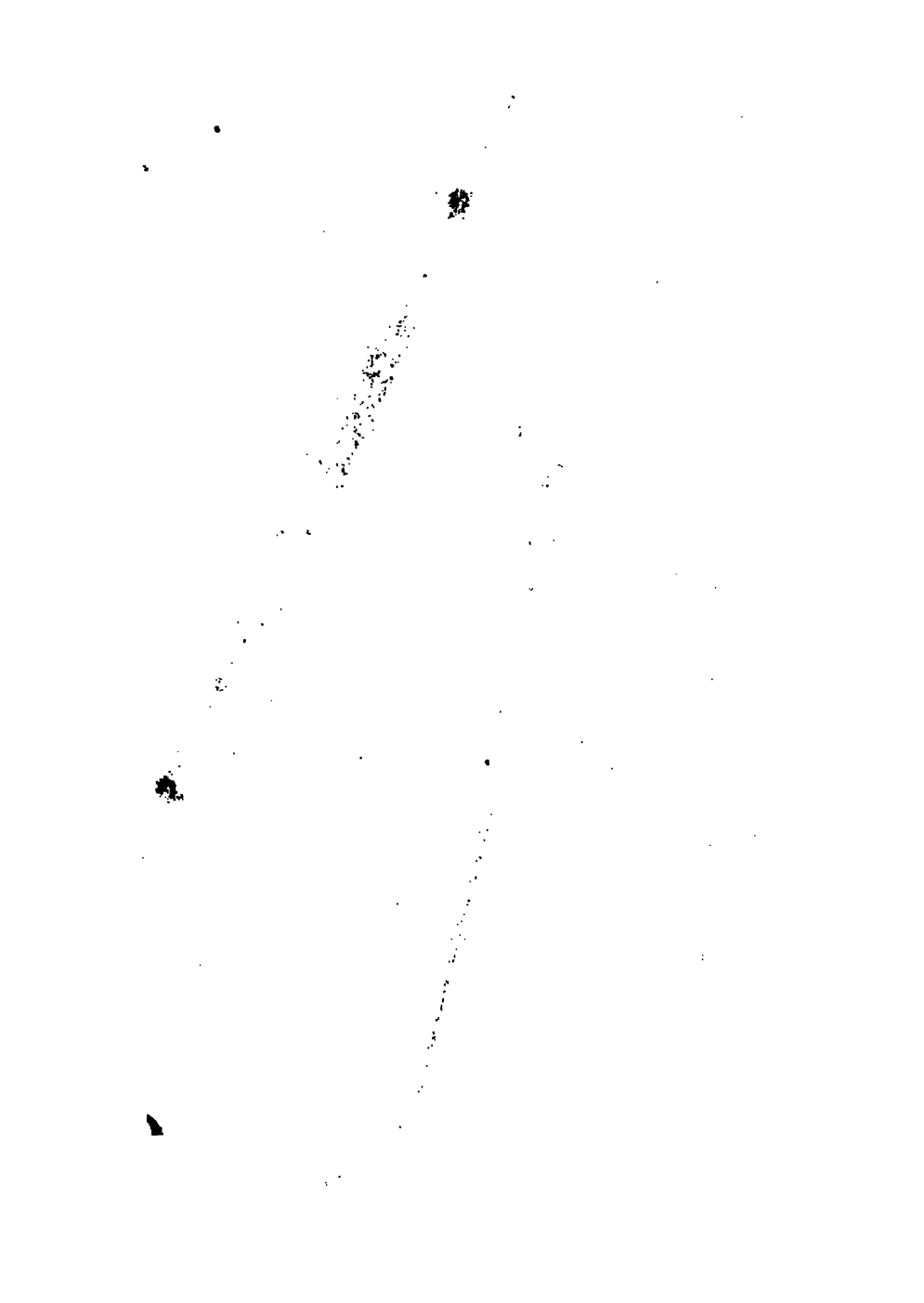


MODERN HISTORY.

THE REFORMATION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

1517-1648 A.D.

1. THE commencement of the sixteenth century is one of those epochs, upon which the memory of the human race rests with peculiar interest, as it ascends backwards through the series of past generations. The world at that time seemed to have suddenly started forward on a new career. Events had happened, and discoveries had been made, which had changed the whole method of human thought, and filled men's minds with new ideas and new aspirations. The discovery of the New World by Columbus, and that of the sea-route to India and China by Vasco de Gama, leading, as these discoveries had done, to the circumnavigation of the globe, had enlightened the minds of men as to the form and the extent of the world they inhabited. They no longer fancied this world a vague illimitable plain, surrounded by unexplored regions of sea and barbarism; they conceived it as it really is—a globe of definite extent, part of the lands of which had been inhabited and cultivated from time immemorial, while other parts still remained to be explored and colonised. And, coincident with this great discovery, had come another, different in kind, but no less momentous. The art of printing, quickening the

intercourse of mind with mind, had begun to diffuse ideas at a rate unknown before, and to create an intellectual fermentation extending simultaneously over all parts of the civilised world. In these circumstances, it was to be expected that corresponding changes would take place in the moral condition and social arrangements of mankind. During the whole past history of the world, a certain progress had been discernible in the state of human society; and, within a century or two, Europe had advanced out of one stage into another, exchanging the system of feudalism for a system of great monarchies, each holding a certain portion of the map, and all related to each other by ties of intermarriage and diplomacy. It was to be expected, however, that now that humanity had larger resources at command, it would quicken its pace, and press onward more rapidly and restlessly to new social changes. Accordingly, the beginning of the sixteenth century is marked by the commencement of a great social and intellectual movement, which has not yet reached its termination. The part of the world primarily affected by this movement, was the civilised West, or Catholic Christendom; and the institution primarily affected by it was the Catholic Church.

2. In no age, as has been already remarked, had there been wanting a spirit of dissent from the doctrines and the discipline of the Church of Rome. Even among those who implicitly followed the doctrines of that church in matters of religion, there had always been men who denied the ecclesiastical supremacy of the pope, and maintained that the supreme right of judgment in disputed ecclesiastical cases belonged to general councils. This view had been gaining ground in Europe since the beginning of the fifteenth century. More thorough and radical in their dissent from the principle of the papacy, had been such bodies of men as the Albigenses of Southern France, the Wycliffites of England, and the Hussites of Bohemia—the relics of which sects were still to be found in the sites of their original appearance. Since the revival of learning, moreover, and the discovery

of the art of printing, a spirit of free thought, hostile to the claims of the papacy, had become fashionable among the educated and the studious. Sarcasms against the abuses of the church were to be heard at the tables of scholars and their patrons; and satires against the clergy were published in considerable numbers. Such satires, indeed, had not been wanting at any period during the middle ages, as may be seen from the works of the Troubadours and the early vernacular poets and prose writers in all languages. But towards the close of the fifteenth century, and about the beginning of the sixteenth, they had begun to assume a character of peculiar pungency. Among the writers conspicuous for the freedom with which they spoke of the church and the clergy, none was so famous as Desiderius Erasmus, a native of Rotterdam, born in 1467, and a man as celebrated for his wit as for his erudition. Originally a monk, but released from his vows in 1506 by Pope Julius II., Erasmus, wherever he went, was accustomed to indulge in criticisms on the church, which would probably have been attended with greater danger to himself had he possessed a greater reputation for earnestness. He resided for some years in England, where he was known to Henry VIII., Thomas More, and other men of note.

3. The work of reforming the church, however, was left to a man of very different character from Erasmus; and the circumstances in which the work began were peculiar. The reigning pope was Leo X., of the famous House of the Medici. He had ascended the papal throne in 1513, at the early age of thirty-seven, and, like all his family, was a man of magnificent and luxurious tastes, fond of the arts and of literary pursuits, a humorist, and a generous patron of all kinds of talent. His court was crowded with scholars, wits, sculptors, painters, and buffoons; he employed Michael Angelo and Raphael; and corresponded with Erasmus, Macchiavelli, and Ariosto. He founded chairs for the study of Greek and the Oriental languages, established a Greek press, and collected manuscripts of the classics at great expense.

As a lay-prince, he would have justly held the first rank among Italian sovereigns; but as a pope, he was out of his proper place. If not an entire sceptic in matters of religion, he was, at least, a man without any serious belief in the creed of which he was the appointed expounder: he viewed the papacy only as a position of power and influence, which rendered him the equal, and in some respects the superior, of the greatest potentates on the earth. But there was this peculiarity in his situation—that, being pope, he inherited and considered himself bound to defend all the traditional rights of the papacy. Hence officially, as head of the church, he did many things which, in his private character, he ridiculed. From the midst of cardinals and counsellors as sceptical as himself, and more intent upon verse-making and the study of Cicero than on faithful discharge of their ecclesiastical functions, he issued bulls and letters to all parts of Europe, full of those pious phrases which, from time immemorial, had been customary in such documents. One of these bulls, issued in 1517, had special reference to Germany. It was a bull for the sale of what were called 'Indulgences.' From the earliest times, the bishops and higher clergy of the church had claimed the right of remitting to those who offended against the ecclesiastical laws the punishment, or part of the punishment, attached to such offences. These remittances, or indulgences, were at first understood to apply only to the punishments inflicted by the church itself in this world; but gradually the idea gained ground that the church could, to a certain extent, absolve from punishment in the world to come. The popes, as heads of the church, were supposed to possess the supreme right of granting such indulgences—which, at last, during the more corrupt ages of the papacy, they converted into an extraordinary means of revenue. Thus, Julius II., the predecessor of Leo, in order to raise money, had authorised the sale of indulgences in France, Poland, and other countries; and Leo, being in want of money, issued a similar bull relating to Germany. The nominal object of the bull was to raise money for the building of a new church

at Rome, and for the war against the Turks; but, in reality, the money was required for the support of the papal court.

4. Leo's commission for the sale of indulgences was addressed to the highest prelates in the several German states. That for Saxony was sent to Albert, archbishop of Magdeburg, who appointed as his agent, or quæstor, a Dominican monk named Tetzel. Tetzel was a coarse vulgar man; and he went about through the country like a quack-doctor, selling his indulgences at fairs and markets, and exalting their virtue in a style which, while it increased the sale among the poor and uneducated, disgusted the serious and the well-informed. Among those who were most shocked by his vulgarity and profaneness, was a monk of the Augustine order, who had already acquired some celebrity in Saxony, both as an eloquent popular preacher and as professor of philosophy in the university of Wittenberg, a new university recently founded and endowed by the Saxon elector. The name of this monk was Martin Luther.

5. Martin Luther was born in 1483 at Eisleben, in Saxony. He was the son of poor parents, his father being a miner. He was educated very piously and strictly at home, and afterwards sent to school at Eisenach, and to the university of Erfurt, where his poverty subjected him to many hardships. From the very first, he exhibited a character of an unusual kind—a genial, soft, and even jovial disposition, united to a tremendous fund of passion, a lion-like courage, great obstinacy, and remarkable strength and penetration of intellect. He was devotedly fond of music; and music and literature were his chief pursuits as a student. His father destined him for the law; but, in 1505, the accidental death of a companion produced such an effect on his mind, that he resolved to become a monk. Having obtained his father's reluctant consent, he entered an Augustine monastery at Erfurt. His life in the monastery was a continual mental conflict. Doubts and fears of a spiritual kind, joined with the natural workings of his passionate nature, reduced him to a state of melancholy bordering on distraction. His monk's cell was a

scene of agony, relieved only by fits of tears. At length the kind counsels of a good man, Staupitz, his religious superior, and the perusal of a Bible, accidentally discovered, brought him into a state of comparative calm; and his views gradually settled themselves into a system of theological belief, resembling that taught in the writings of St Augustine, in which the doctrine of salvation, not by works but by free grace, or, as it was called in theological language, the doctrine of 'justification by faith,' assumed the chief place. To this doctrine Luther adhered all his life; he put it forward on all occasions as the very essence of Christianity; and he regarded the belief in it as 'the test of a standing or a falling church.' It was not long before this extraordinary earnestness of Luther in matters of religion, coupled with his talents and acquirements, and his constitutional energy, brought him into notice. In 1508, by the advice of Staupitz, he was appointed to the professorship of philosophy at Wittenberg; and in 1510, he was chosen as the fittest man to be sent to Rome on a mission of business connected with the interests of his order in Saxony. This journey to Rome was a crisis in his life. Himself pious, unsophisticated, and enthusiastic, he expected that, as he approached the seat of the papacy, he should find the clergy more zealous, more faithful, and more sincere. At Rome itself, the city of such holy traditions, he expected to find piety in the ascendant. He was shockingly disappointed. If he was dissatisfied with the German clergy, he found the Italian clergy much worse; many of them were sensual and profligate, and not a few were avowed infidels. The papal court itself exhibited a degree of corruptness, and of contempt for religion, such as he had not conceived could exist on the earth. When he remonstrated with the clergy, he was laughed at as a simpleton and a fanatic; and at a monastery in Milan he gave such offence, by the freedom of his censures, that the monks almost stoned him. This visit to Italy caused him at the time much mental distress; but he used afterwards to say, that he would not have missed it for a hundred thousand florins, as it opened his eyes to the real state of the papacy, and

gave him a courage which he could not otherwise have had, in setting himself against the great dignitaries of the church. After his return, Luther resumed his duties as professor at Wittenberg. In 1512, he was made doctor of divinity. In his lectures, he shewed less respect than was usual to the authority of the schoolmen, and appealed to reason and the Scriptures. Although a good Latin and Greek scholar, and knowing something of Hebrew, it was less by his learning than by the force of his native genius that he drew around him the young men of Wittenberg. As a preacher, he was unrivalled; no man was such a master of the noble German tongue; and the castle church of Wittenberg was always full when it was known that Dr Luther was to occupy the pulpit.

6. Such was the man who, in 1517, at the age of thirty-four, came forward against Tetzel. After various private remonstrances, he drew up, as was then the fashion when a theological question was to be disputed, a paper of heads or theses, in which he asserted the true doctrine of indulgences. In this paper he denied the right to make indulgences an article of sale at all, exposed the frightful evils resulting from doing so, and averred that even such indulgences as were lawful, could only remit the canonical punishments of the church itself, and not the punishments of the dead in a future state. He sent a copy of the paper to the archbishop of Magdeburg, praying him to stop Tetzel's proceedings; and he affixed another copy to the gates of the principal church in Wittenberg, offering to maintain the theses against all adversaries. Immediately there was a display of public opinion in Luther's favour: his own students took up his cause with enthusiasm; and though Tetzel and his brother Dominicans published counter-theses, they produced no effect. A few months later, Dr Eck, a professor of divinity at Ingolstadt, undertook the defence of indulgences; and thus Luther entered into a controversy with him, which led him beyond the original field of dispute. All Saxony began to be agitated, and Luther's popularity increased.

7. Meanwhile, the news of what was going on in Saxony had reached Rome. At first, the papal court

made light of the affair, and Leo was even heard to say, in a good-humoured manner, that 'brother Luther must be a man of parts.' Luther also wrote to the pope, professing himself a devout and obedient son of the church, and disclaiming all rebellious intentions in his attack on Tetzel. The matter, however, became so important, that Luther was summoned to Rome to answer for his opinions. At this critical moment, the Saxon elector, Frederick, stepped forward in Luther's behalf. A man of singular sagacity and prudence, on which account he was surnamed 'the Wise,' Frederick, though he did not openly meddle with the controversy, and even studiously avoided personal intercourse with Luther, was yet his warm friend, and proud of having such a man for his subject. Had Luther gone to Rome, he would in all probability never have returned, and Wittenberg would have lost its ornament. In these circumstances, Frederick, who, next to the emperor himself, was the man of greatest weight in Germany, obtained permission for Luther to be examined within the bounds of the empire. The task of examining him devolved on Cardinal Caietano, a Dominican, then papal legate in Germany. Luther, accompanied by two friends, appeared before Caietano at Augsburg, in August 1518. The cardinal, instead of arguing with him, ordered him to retract his opinions, which Luther declined to do in very decisive terms, asserting, among other things, the fallibility of the pope. Fearing treachery, he returned secretly to Wittenberg, from which, notwithstanding the entreaties of the legate, the wise elector refused to expel him. In November 1518, the pope issued a bull affirming the doctrine of indulgences as expounded by Tetzel; and against this bull Luther appealed to the authority of a general council.

8. The breach between the papacy and Luther was thus widened. Various circumstances, however, induced the pope to delay extreme measures. To please the elector, he made a second attempt, in 1519, to gain over Luther by commissioning Miltitz, the new legate to Germany, to see him and converse with him. Miltitz was a man of temperate views and conciliating manners, and by agreeing

with Luther in private on various points, he had almost induced him to consent to be silent on the matter of indulgences, when the intemperance of his adversaries again roused him. Dr Eck of Ingolstadt had challenged Carlostadt, one of Luther's disciples, to a controversy at Leipsic, on the subject of freewill, and had, by his superior powers as a debater, gained an apparent victory. Luther, who had gone to Leipsic, publicly attacked Eck, who thereupon extracted thirteen propositions from Luther's writings, and declared them to be heretical. Luther published counter-propositions, and a public debate ensued, in the course of which Luther denied the divine right of the papacy, and maintained it to be only a venerable human institution. He avowed various other doctrinal differences from the Church of Rome. This debate, followed as it was by various publications of Luther's, directly aimed at some of the fundamental tenets of the Catholic Church, rendered reconciliation impossible; and on the 15th of June 1520, Leo, having assembled a congregation of cardinals, issued a bull of condemnation against Luther, containing forty-one heretical propositions extracted from his writings, ordering these writings to be burnt, and requiring Luther to confess and retract under pain of excommunication. Luther's answer to the bull was emphatic. He renewed his appeal from the pope to a general council; and to shew that his rupture with the papacy was complete and final, he publicly burnt the pope's bull and a number of papal decretals, on the 10th of December 1520, at the gate of Wittenberg, in presence of a crowd assembled to see the spectacle. The pope heard of this unparalleled act of contempt, and immediately published a sentence of excommunication against the magnanimous monk. At this point, accordingly, Luther's revolt against the papacy became a matter affecting the political relations of Germany to the rest of the world.

9. When Luther began his controversy with Tetzel, Maximilian I. occupied the imperial throne. Although the first steps of the Reformation were taken while he was yet alive, neither he nor his counsellors took much

interest in them. He died in January 1519, and for some months it was uncertain who was to be his successor. According to the established precedent, which had already fixed the succession in the Austrian line, the natural successor to Maximilian was his young grandson, Carlos, or Charles I. of Spain, already monarch of all the Spanish dominions as heir of Ferdinand and Isabella, and sovereign of Austria and the Netherlands as heir to his father, the Archduke Philip. Indeed, before his death, Maximilian had tried to secure the succession to his grandson; but as the imperial throne was elective, the States were not bound to accept Charles, if they had any reasons for thinking him ineligible. And such reasons existed. As lord of Spain Proper, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, the Balearic Isles, Austria, the Netherlands, and the Spanish colonies in America, Charles was by far the most formidable potentate in Europe; and to add to his other dignities that of emperor of Germany, would be to raise him still higher above all contemporary princes. These considerations were not confined to the sovereigns of the German states: all the European sovereigns were interested; and none more so than Francis I. of France and Henry VIII. of England, the two most powerful monarchs after Charles. These two monarchs, to prevent Charles from obtaining the empire, offered themselves as candidates for it. At this time, Charles was only eighteen years of age; Francis was twenty-four; and Henry was twenty-seven. Intrigues, in which Leo X. took an active part, went on in favour of each of the three candidates. The choice at last lay between Charles and Francis, the pope ostensibly favouring the French monarch, but in reality wishing well to neither. In these circumstances, the German Diet met at Frankfort (June 1519) to elect the new emperor. The right of choice was vested in the seven electoral princes—namely, the archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, the king of Bohemia, the Duke of Saxony, the Count Palatine, and the Marquis of Brandenburg. The electors instinctively turned their eyes to one of their own number—the wise Duke of Saxony—as the fittest man to be elected. But the duke himself declined the honour,

representing, that though in ordinary circumstances it might be proper to elect a humble sovereign like him, yet at that time, when Europe was menaced by Turkish invasion, it was necessary to have a powerful prince on the throne, capable of bringing foreign force to assist that of Germany. He pointed out that Charles of Spain was precisely such a prince, his Austrian possessions giving him a direct interest in repelling the Turks, while his immense territories out of Germany placed the means of doing so at his command. Influenced by this advice, the electors, after some delay, unanimously chose the king of Spain, who accordingly figures in history from this date forward as the Emperor Charles V. (June 28, 1519).

10. Though too young to have fully shewn his abilities, Charles was already known by those who had come in contact with him as a prince of an unusually grave and thoughtful disposition, likely to perform an important part in the affairs of Europe. Born and educated in Flanders, there was more of the German than of the Spaniard in his character; and it had been with reluctance that he had left Flanders in 1517, to take possession of his Spanish throne, vacated the year before by the death of his maternal grandfather, Ferdinand. He had been received by his Castilian and Aragonese subjects with coldness, and he was still engaged in disputes with the cortes of Catalonia, when he received the news of his election to the German Empire. He lost little time in quitting Spain for a more congenial field of action. After touching at Dover on the way, where he had an interview with Henry VIII., he reached Germany, and was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle (October 23, 1520).

11. Among the first matters that occupied the young emperor's attention, after his arrival in Germany, was the Lutheran schism, the progress of which had been greatly favoured by the delay attending the new election, and by the increased influence of the Saxon elector during the interval. The pope earnestly entreated Charles to signalise the beginning of his reign by the summary punishment of the excommunicated heretic. In deference to Luther's protector, however, Charles agreed to have

the cause fairly tried before a diet of the empire, which was to assemble at Worms in April 1521. Luther was summoned to appear before this diet, and furnished with a safe-conduct under the emperor's hand. Never, perhaps, was there a more memorable scene than when, on the 17th of April 1521, the Saxon monk appeared before the assembled princes, temporal and spiritual, of the German Empire. He had been warned not to enter the city, as, notwithstanding his safe-conduct, he might, like Huss, be detained and put to death. 'Were there as many devils in Worms as there are tiles on the houses,' was his reply, 'I will enter it.' His manner before the assembly was bold, but becoming. At one end of the hall was the young emperor seated in state, and surrounded by the great nobles and electors; in the middle, at a kind of bar or table, on which lay a collection of his writings, stood Luther, a man in the prime of life, and conspicuous among the crowd for his massive figure and his lion-like countenance. On being questioned if the books on the table were his, he replied that they seemed to be so; on being asked if he would maintain or retract them, he asked a day to consider. The next day he replied, that in the books in question there were three kinds of matter—matter of a general kind, which no one objected to; propositions relating to the papal power and doctrine accused of being heretical, which he could not retract unless convinced by argument that they were erroneous and contrary to Scripture; and expressions which might have escaped him in the heat of controversy, and which his own cool judgment might now condemn, though he still adhered to the substance of their meaning. 'Let me be convinced of error by the Holy Scriptures,' he said, 'and I will retract, and burn my books with my own hands; till I am so convinced, I cannot retract.' On being further pressed, he concluded with these words, uttered with great emotion, and almost with tears: '*Hier stehe ich; ich kann nicht anders; Gott helfe mir. Amen!*'—'Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise; God help me. Amen!' And so he left the Diet. The next day, Charles announced that

he was resolved to defend the Catholic faith, and treat Luther as a heretic. The majority of the Diet were of the same opinion; and Luther was ordered to leave Worms, his safe-conduct to expire in twenty-one days.

12. With a heavy heart the Reformer set out on his journey homeward, knowing that the sentence of the Diet would soon follow him, and seeing no chance of escaping the doom which such a sentence would pronounce. Suddenly, at a solitary part of his journey, where the road led through a forest, a party of horsemen appeared with their faces blackened, who seized Luther, and carried him off from his companions. The rumour was spread that Luther had fallen into the hands of his enemies, and would never be seen more; but in reality his abduction was a trick of his good friend, the Saxon elector, who had determined to place his bold subject in a secure asylum till the storm arising from the decision of the Diet should have blown over. The Reformer was carried to the duke's remote castle of Wartburg, where he lived for about a year under the name of 'Farmer George,' his real name being diligently concealed. Here, in perfect security, he wrote books and pamphlets against the papacy and its tenets, and corresponded with his friends. Meanwhile an imperial edict, ordering his arrest, and forbidding any one to harbour him, had gone forth over Germany; and Europe was full of contradictory rumours as to what had become of him.

13. Although under the ban of the empire, the opinions of Luther continued to spread in Saxony and other parts of Germany during the Reformer's residence at Wartburg. Among the propagators of Luther's doctrines during his absence, were his former pupil Carlostadt, and the celebrated Philip Melancthon. Melancthon, whose proper name was Schwartzerdt—Schwartzerdt means, literally, 'Black Earth,' and Melancthon is a name meaning the same in Greek—was a young man of singular attainments, born at Bretten, in the Palatinate, educated under the care of Reuchlin, and appointed in 1518 to the chair of Greek in the university of Wittenberg. His colleague, Luther, contracted a warm affection for

him, and the two became firm friends—Luther exerting over Melancthon the influence natural to his more vehement character; while Melancthon, by his gentleness and rare erudition, was a useful companion to Luther. Upon Carlostadt and Melancthon devolved the task of superintending the progress of the Reformation during Luther's absence. The task, however, exceeded their powers. The movement in Saxony, protected by the tolerance of the duke, had become most formidable. The Augustine friars of Wittenberg abolished the mass; and hundreds of monks in that neighbourhood had quitted their monasteries, and married. The people of Wittenberg began to shew their zeal by breaking the images in the churches, and other acts of violence. Carlostadt, so far from repressing these excesses, stimulated them, and began to preach doctrines tending to an upsetting of the entire fabric of civil society. The mild and gentle Melancthon was not fitted to cope with such a spirit, and began to yield to it. In these circumstances, Luther thought it necessary that he should reappear on the scene; accordingly, he left the castle of Wartburg, and returned to Wittenberg in 1522. He rebuked Carlostadt, who was banished from Saxony, and retired into Switzerland.

14. Under the leadership of Luther, assisted by Melancthon and others, the Reformation in Germany proceeded apace. Both from the pulpit and by means of the press, Luther continued to attack the papacy, and such doctrines and practices as purgatory, the mass, auricular confession, prayer for the dead, and the celibacy of the clergy. He denounced the papal system as Antichrist, and called for its extinction. Along with Melancthon, he prepared a German translation of the New Testament, which was published in 1522. In 1524, he threw off his monastic dress; and in 1525, he married Catherine de Bora, a nun who had left her convent. Meanwhile, not only in Saxony, but in all the other German states, his adherents were multiplying beyond calculation. At Strasburg, Martin Bucer, a learned Dominican monk, born in 1491, embraced Luther's opinions, and propagated them so

industriously as to acquire an independent reputation in that part of Germany. Nor was it only among the people, and the citizens of the free German boroughs, that the Reformation gained adherents; the relics of the Hussites in Bohemia started into new life at the summons of a voice reminding them of Huss, and Jerome of Prague, and Ziska. Among the German princes also, partly from sincere conviction, partly from motives of selfish policy, not a few ranged themselves on the side of the new movement. The good Elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise, died in 1525; but his brother and successor, John the Constant, was as firm and more open in his defence of the Reformers. The Elector Palatine, the Marquis of Brandenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the Duke of Deux Ponts, and various other princes and nobles, professed their adherence to Luther's principles; thus constituting a power in the German Diet sufficient to prevent any general decree for their persecution. The Catholics, it is true, were not idle. Leo X. had died in 1522; but his successors, Adrian VI. (1522–1523) and Clement VII. (1523–1534), continued the contest which he had begun, and took various measures for inducing the emperor and the Catholic princes in Germany to act vigorously against the increasing heresy. The state of European politics, however, was such that the emperor, though a zealous Roman Catholic, found it to be his interest to allow the Reformation to take its course; and in 1523, when Adrian VI. tried to rouse the Diet of Nurnberg to activity, the Diet replied by enumerating a hundred grievances in the church requiring reform, and calling on the pope to summon a general council for their consideration and redress. And so, with some partial exceptions, the Reformation of Luther continued its course without hinderance over the length and breadth of the German Empire.

15. Quite independent of the German Reformation in its origin, although similar in its aims, and destined to run parallel with it, and at some points merge in it, was a reformation which had been contemporaneously going on

in Switzerland. The author of this reformation was a priest of the canton of Glarus, named Ulrich Zwingle. Born in the year 1484, the son of a farmer, Zwingle had been educated at Bâle, Berne, and Vienna, and had settled at Glarus as priest in 1506. He had twice accompanied Swiss auxiliary forces into Italy as military chaplain, and had thus been led to interest himself in the civil politics of his country. A man of great learning, of an acute and inquiring mind, and of a benevolent disposition, he seems very early to have arrived at the conclusion, that the church required a reform in many points, and to have expressed this opinion freely among his friends. It is certain, at least, that without knowing anything of Luther's attack on indulgences, and even without having heard of Luther's name, Zwingle in 1517–18 made a bold stand against their sale in Switzerland, treating a priest named Samson, who was distributing them there, precisely as Luther treated Tetzel. In a free republican confederacy like Switzerland, opinions like those of Zwingle were allowed scope; and in the year 1519, when Zwingle was transferred to the collegiate church of Zurich, and began from the pulpit there to preach openly, not only against indulgences, but also against other doctrines and practices of the Romish Church, he found a strong public opinion to support him, and not a few coadjutors among the Swiss clergy. Among these coadjutors, the most able and famous were Hauschein, a priest of Bâle, who had changed his name into Œcolampadius; Henry Bullinger, a priest of Baumgarten; and another priest named Kopflin or Capito. These men constituted a little band of native Swiss reformers; they insisted upon the translation of the Liturgy into the vernacular, and attacked the fundamental doctrines of the papacy. They were opposed by some of the Swiss Catholic dignitaries and doctors; but the attention of the papal court being at that time entirely occupied by the Lutheran schism in Germany, the progress of the new Swiss heresy attracted comparatively little notice. Favoured by the spirit of civil freedom prevailing among the cantons, it spread with extraordinary rapidity: in

1523, the council of Zurich openly adopted the Zwinglian doctrines as the law of the canton, prohibited the mass and the use of images, published a new Liturgy, and suppressed convents. In 1528, a great assembly of Swiss clergy, deputed from most of the cantons, met at Berne; where, after a strenuous discussion, the Reformers gained the victory, and a series of ten propositions was put forth affirming the fundamental principles of the Reformed belief. Immediately after this, the canton of Berne followed the example of Zurich, and gave to the new constitution of the church the force of law. In both cantons, however, the revolution was effected in the most prudent and considerate manner; all interference with the civil liberty of the Catholics, and even with the interests of the Catholic clergy, being avoided as much as possible. When Zurich and Berne had embraced the Zwinglian Reformation, the cause was considered to have triumphed in Switzerland.

16. In the year 1528, therefore, two distinct movements of Reformation were going on in Europe—the Lutheran Reformation of Germany, and the Zwinglian Reformation of Switzerland. The adherents of the former were called Lutherans; those of the latter, Zwinglians or Evangelicals—the latter being the name adopted by themselves, in token that they professed to derive their doctrines entirely from the Scriptures. In the main, the two bodies of Reformers were at one; and they viewed each other with sympathy and respect. In one or two points, however, they differed: the German Reformation, on the whole, bore the stamp of the large, hearty, enthusiastic, thoroughly German character of Luther; the Swiss Reformation, on the other hand, partaking of the character of Zwingle, and also of the people among whom it was originally propagated, had perhaps more of the purely logical element in it than that begun by Luther. The Swiss Reformers carried out their principles in one or two points to greater lengths than the Lutherans did, and were more disposed to apply them to the civil constitution of society. Thus the Zwinglians denied altogether the Catholic

doctrine of transubstantiation, or of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, whereas Luther adopted a middle opinion, which he called consubstantiation; and the Zwinglians were more disposed than the Lutherans to change the hierarchical constitution of the church for one of a more democratic character, in which the clergy should be all of equal rank. These differences between the Lutherans and the Zwinglians were not without their consequences, and, indeed, their influence may be traced in the subsequent history of the Reformation in the different countries of Europe—some countries following the Lutheran or German, while others followed the Zwinglian or Swiss model of the Reformation. The further history of the Reformation, however, will be best traced in connection with the political history of the times.

17. I. THE GERMAN EMPIRE.—No sooner had Charles V. been elected emperor of Germany, than, young as he was, he began to shew an ambition to play the part which the greatness of his territorial possessions seemed to mark out for him, and to found a great European empire similar to that of Charlemagne. The man that stood most in his way was Francis I. of France, who had contested his claims to the empire. No two men could be more dissimilar in character than these two monarchs. Charles was grave, wary, politic —a statesman rather than a warrior. Francis was gay, dashing, chivalrous—fond of brilliant exploits, and careless of personal danger. By natural character, therefore, as well as by position, these two potentates were marked out as antagonists, and they soon found a field for the display of their rivalry. This field was Italy, in which country both had, or supposed they had, territorial rights capable of being extended.

18. The claims of Francis to dominion in Italy were inherited from his predecessor, Louis XII., who, by virtue of being descended from the Viscontis of Milan, had assumed the title of Duke of Milan in addition to that of King of France, and had carried on a long war to expel the Sforzas, the actual holders of the duchy.

Francis had no sooner ascended the throne (1515), than he plunged with all the ardour of youth into the enterprise thus bequeathed to him. The Sforzas, dispossessed by his predecessor, had managed to reinstate themselves, and Francis invaded Lombardy to regain the duchy. He was opposed at Marignano, near Milan, by an army of Swiss, as auxiliaries of the Sforzas, when one of the bloodiest battles on record took place. The Swiss fought two days, but were obliged to retreat; and Francis took possession of Milan, setting Sforza aside with a pension. The Emperor Maximilian attempted to drive the French out of Italy, but did not succeed; and from the year 1515 to the year 1521, Milan and its adjacencies were governed by a French general as part of the dominions of Francis I. Meanwhile, Charles V., already interested in Italy as sovereign of Naples, began to shew his distrust of the progress of the French arms in the northern part of the peninsula; he had, moreover, been affronted by various attacks of Francis on his Spanish dominions, made in revenge for his election to the empire. Nor was Charles alone in his hostility to Francis. Pope Leo X. was opposed to French domination in Italy, and Henry VIII. of England regarded Francis as his natural enemy. Accordingly, a treaty of alliance against Francis was concluded by the emperor, the pope, and the king of England. The Milanese possessions of Francis were attacked, and the French forces there were reduced to the last extremities. France itself was invaded in the north by the English, and on the south by Spanish and German troops. The war was carried on with great valour on both sides, and with various success, till 1525, when, in a great battle fought at Pavia, the French were totally defeated, and Francis himself was taken prisoner. 'All is lost except honour!' were the words in which Francis announced this defeat to his mother, whom he had left as his regent in France.

19. Francis was carried prisoner to Madrid; the French were swept out of Italy; and but for the abilities of the queen-mother, France itself would have been dismembered by the allies. The growing power of Charles V.,

however, began to alarm Henry VIII. and Pope Clement VII.; and Charles had a powerful personal enemy in Cardinal Wolsey, the minister of Henry, who had been disappointed of the papacy chiefly by the emperor's influence. By Wolsey's intrigues, it was arranged that the pope and Henry VIII. should break their alliance with Charles on the first opportunity. The opportunity soon arrived. After being a prisoner at Madrid for about a year, Francis was released by his rival on certain very hard conditions, the chief of which were, the abandonment of his claims on Italy, the surrender of certain portions of France, and the giving up of his two sons as hostages to Charles. No sooner had he set his foot once more in France, than exclaiming: 'I am yet a king!' he hastened to take his revenge for the humiliations inflicted on him. The pope absolved him from his engagements, and a league was formed, in which the pope and Henry VIII. now agreed to act with Francis against Charles. The Swiss, the Milanese, the Venetians, and the Florentines joined this league, and Charles was left almost alone to cope with this confederacy.

20. The troops of Charles, taking advantage of a delay on the other side, gained signal successes in Italy. The castle of Milan was taken; Rome itself was attacked, and the pope was obliged to shut himself up in the castle of St Angelo, where, after an obstinate defence, he was made prisoner. For six months he remained a captive in the hands of the imperial forces, who treated him with great indignity. This fact of the captivity of a pope in the hands of a Christian emperor, was thought a great scandal in Europe. Charles himself took care to make it known, that it was against the pope as the temporal sovereign of Rome, and not against the pope as spiritual head of the church, that he was contending; and all the while that his generals in Italy were detaining the pope as their prisoner, he caused prayers to be put up in the churches of Spain for the deliverance of his holiness. At length, after several campaigns in Italy, this anomalous state of affairs was brought to an end by the Treaty of Cambray (1529), by which Francis and Charles compounded their

differences—Francis resigning all claims upon Italy, and paying 2,000,000 crowns as the ransom of his sons; while Charles, in return, abandoned his claims on Burgundy. Italy thus remained entirely at the disposal of the German emperor, who restored Sforza to the duchy of Milan, and compelled the Florentines to accept Alexander de' Medici as their sovereign.

21. The Treaty of Cambray left Charles at liberty to attend to the domestic affairs of his empire. So long as he had been at war with Francis and the pope, he had not been very eager in his hostility to the Reformation; but he now hastened to make up for his want of zeal. A diet of the German Empire was convened at Spires in March 1529. At this Diet, the Catholic princes were in the majority; and after a vehement opposition on the part of the Reformers, they carried a decree directed against the Reformed doctrines. This decree was so framed as to be more severe upon the Zwinglian than the Lutheran tenets—the design being, if possible, to get the Lutherans to agree with the Catholics against the Zwinglian opinions, which had begun to extend themselves into some parts of Germany. The Lutherans and the Zwinglians of Germany, however, saw that the blow was really aimed against both: they therefore made common cause; and accordingly, on the 19th of April 1529, a formal 'protest' was entered by the Reformers against the decision of the Diet. It was from this protest that the name *Protestants* was derived—a name since applied to all adherents of the Reformation, of whatever sect or origin. The protest was signed by John, Elector of Saxony; George, Margrave of Brandenburg; Philip, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; Ernest and Francis, Dukes of Luxemburg; Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt; and by the deputies of the following fourteen cities—Strasburg, Nurnberg, Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Hildesheim, Melingen, Lindau, Kempten, Heilbrunn, Weissenburg, Isny, Nordlingen, and St Gall. Such a list shews how powerfully the Reformation had already established itself in the German Empire.

22. As it was obvious that a trial of strength between the Catholics and the Protestants of Germany was at

hand, it became desirable, if possible, to unite the Lutherans and the Zwinglians into one body. Philip of Hesse-Cassel was especially anxious to effect this end; and by his desire, Luther and Zwingle, accompanied by Melancthon and Œcolampadius, met at Marburg, to take into consideration the points in which the two bodies of Reformers differed, so as, if possible, to come to a complete agreement. The conference, however, proved a failure; Luther refusing to accept the Zwinglian doctrine of the Eucharist, and Zwingle, on the other hand, maintaining that in certain points Luther stopped short of the truth. Accordingly, in the year 1530, when the emperor, in order to continue the work begun at Spires, summoned a new diet at Augsburg, and ordered the Reformers to bring with them a written statement of their theological opinions as a whole, two such statements were given in. One, drawn up by Melancthon with Luther's sanction, and entitled the *Confession of Augsburg*, embodied the opinions of the Lutherans, who formed the great majority of the German Reformers; another, more Zwinglian in its tenor, and entitled the *Confession of Strasburg*, was presented on the part of the four cities of Strasburg, Memmingen, Lindau, and Constance. Both confessions were read before Charles V. and the Diet without any effect; and in November 1530, an imperial edict was issued, which while admitting the existence of abuses in the church, and promising that the emperor would use his influence with the pope to procure the convocation of a general council at which such abuses might be rendered, at the same time strictly forbade the dissemination in Germany of any doctrine innovating upon the established creed or practice. Alarmed by this decree, the Protestant princes of Germany, with the Saxon elector at their head, met at Smalkalde, and formed a league for the defence of their liberties (December 1530).

23. The resolute attitude of the Protestant princes, combined with other political reasons, obliged Charles to temporise with the new opinions, which, indeed, he could only hope to suppress by a war of extermination. The severity

of the Augsburg decree was modified by a treaty made at Nurnberg in 1532; and for some years the doctrines of the Reformers were allowed to spread freely in some of the German states. Occasional persecutions, indeed, took place; but these were chiefly directed against the Anabaptists, a fanatical sect, who, adopting Zwinglian opinions, carried them out to an extent incompatible with social order. The chief seat of these sectaries was the city of Münster, which they seized and defended against its ruling bishop. They were at last subdued, and their chiefs were executed with great cruelty.

24. Meanwhile Charles was prosecuting his schemes for the enlargement of his European empire. Leaving German affairs in the hands of his brother Ferdinand, to whom he had already (1521) resigned the separate government of Austria and its dependencies, he engaged in an enterprise against the Turks (1532); after which he proceeded to Spain. Thence, in 1535, he embarked for the African coast to chastise Barbarossa, a Mohammedan adventurer who had established himself in Tunis, and whose piracies were the terror of the Mediterranean. Tunis was taken after a dreadful massacre of its Mohammedan defenders; upwards of 20,000 Christians were released from slavery; and Charles returned to Europe, having, as he imagined, added a part of Africa to his enormous dominion. He had scarcely returned, when his inveterate rival, Francis I., renewed the conflict which had been interrupted seven years before. The French invaded Northern Italy, but were driven back by the Imperialists, who, in their turn, invaded France. A truce was concluded in 1538; and for four years the two monarchs were on terms of peace. During this period, a revolt took place among the Flemish subjects of Charles; and in order to quell it, he marched, by permission, direct through his rival's kingdom—Francis refusing to follow the advice given him by some of his counsellors to arrest and detain him. The Flemish revolt was suppressed with great cruelty, the people of Ghent being treated with especial severity. In 1541, Charles set out on a new expedition to the African coast. It was

unsuccessful; and he returned to Europe, only to plunge into a new war with the indefatigable Francis. Italy and France were again for two years the scenes of incessant marchings and countermarchings of French and Imperialist armies. At length, in 1544, a new peace was made at Crespi; both parties agreeing to unite against the Turks, as the enemies of Christendom from without, and the Protestants, as its enemies from within.

25. As Charles grew older, he became more intolerant; and immediately after the peace of Crespi, he began a course of vigorous action for the suppression of the Reformation in Germany. Fourteen years had elapsed since the formation of the Protestant League of Smalkalde; and during these years, with the exception of the cruelties against the Anabaptists, there had been little interference with the religious liberties of the Germans. Luther was still alive, guiding from his quiet residence in Wittenberg the great movement which he had begun, and supported by a host of younger men, who revered his name and obeyed his direction. In 1534, he had completed, along with Melancthon, a German translation of the whole Bible; and this work, with the *Confession of Augsburg*, was in the hands of all the German Protestants. He was also in continual correspondence with the Protestant princes both of Germany and of other countries, all of whom received his suggestions with deference. Moreover, by Luther's influence over Bucer, the leader of the Zwinglian or Sacramentarian section of the German Protestants, who were most numerous in Strasburg, Ulm, and some other German towns, a reconciliation had been effected between them and their Lutheran fellow-countrymen, so as to unite all the German Protestants under one banner. Such was the state of affairs when Charles prepared to restore Catholicism in Germany by force of arms. He began by calling a diet at Worms in 1545, at which resolutions were passed similar to those which had been passed fifteen years before at the Diet of Augsburg. The Protestant princes, seeing that Charles was now in earnest, renewed their league, and took up arms. Their leaders were John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, who had succeeded

John the Constant in 1532; Philip, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; and other members of the League. The Protestant cause, likewise, gained an accession of strength about this time by the adhesion to the League of the Elector Palatine, the Duke of Würtemberg, and Maurice, Margrave of Meissen, the cousin of the Saxon elector, and the son-in-law of the Landgrave of Hesse. The emperor, seeing such a powerful array against him, concluded a peace with the Turks, that he might have all his forces at disposal. He likewise formed a league with the pope, who sent 13,000 men to his assistance. In the midst of these preparations for civil war, Luther died, during a visit to his native district of Eisleben, in the sixty-fourth year of his age (February 17, 1546).

26. Charles was at first successful against the League. In a battle fought at Muhlhausen (1547), he defeated their forces, and took the Saxon Elector and the Landgrave of Hesse prisoners. This victory he owed in part to the treachery of Maurice, their kinsman, an ambitious man, who made the religious war subservient to designs of his own. As a reward for his treachery, Charles conferred on him the electorate of Saxony. Thus promoted to the first rank among German princes, Maurice pursued an able, though selfish, policy. Ostensibly taking part with Charles, he still kept up a secret alliance with the Protestants, and so arranged matters that their cause did not become entirely desperate. Charles, meanwhile, whose position in Europe had been materially improved by the death of his rival Francis (1547), was bent on utterly extinguishing Protestantism in Germany. A formula of doctrine and discipline was drawn up at Augsburg in 1548, by which all the German states were ordered to abide, until the assembling of a general council. This formula was named the *Interim*. Its provisions were so obnoxious to the Protestants, and Charles acted so despotically in enforcing it, that the League rallied for a new attempt at resistance. Maurice, whom Charles had offended by refusing to release his father-in-law, the Hessian landgrave, now threw off the mask, and placed himself at the head of the League, concluding an alliance

on its behalf with the new king of France, and with other European sovereigns. He conducted the war with such consummate skill that, after various reverses, Charles was obliged to submit; and in 1552, a treaty was concluded at Passau between him and the Protestants, guaranteeing full liberty of doctrine and worship within the limits of the empire. This treaty, which placed the religious liberties of Germany on a secure basis, was confirmed by a solemn declaration made at Augsburg in 1555, and entitled *The Peace of Religion.*

27. The eventful reign of Charles was now drawing to a close. Disappointed by the issue of his war against the Protestants, vexed by the ill success which attended all his latest military enterprises against the Turks, he fell into a state of melancholy, increased by the infirm state of his body, and resolved to resign the cares of empire. He parted with his dignities gradually. In 1554, his son Philip had married Mary, queen of England, on which occasion his father had made over to him the crowns of Naples and Sicily. In the following year—in which year Charles's own mother, Joanna of Spain, died, after having been insane for fifty years—he resigned to the same son, by two several acts of abdication, the government of the Netherlands and that of Spain, with its American colonies. The abdication of the Netherlands was made at Brussels before an assembly of the estates, and the scene was one of the most impressive on record. The emperor, prematurely old, was obliged to lean on the arm of the Prince of Orange as he addressed the assembly, recounting the labours of his life, and requesting their allegiance to his son; and after the ceremony was over, he sank back exhausted. His abdication of the crowns of Spain and the Indies was made in similar circumstances before a convention of the Spanish grandees. Nothing then remained to Charles but his dignity as emperor of Germany. This also he abdicated in 1556, in favour of his brother, Ferdinand of Austria, who had already been secured the succession by a previous act of the German states. Thus stripped of all his dignities, the invalid, after a brief visit to his native town of Ghent, embarked

for Spain with a small retinue, that he might spend the rest of his days in monastic seclusion. He had chosen as the place of retirement a monastery in a sequestered valley in Estremadura, where he had caused preparations to be made for his reception. Here he arrived by slow stages in February 1557. Attended by a few old servants, whom he had brought from Flanders, he devoted almost all his time, during the short remainder of his life, to religious exercises, and to the care of his health. His temper became more and more morose, and his main malady, dyspepsia, was increased by his inordinate fondness for rich meats and potted fish, from which all the remonstrances of his physician could not restrain him. His chief amusements were corresponding with his son Philip, and superintending, along with an ingenious mechanician, whom he had brought with him from Flanders, the construction of clocks and mechanical toys. He had a room full of horologes of all kinds continually ticking. The monks gained great influence over him; and one of his chief regrets as he approached his end was, that he had not nipped the Reformation in the bud by arresting and executing Luther at the Diet of Worms. In September 1558, he caused a funeral-service to be performed in the chapel of the convent in anticipation of his own death. The fatigue of this ceremony induced a fever, which carried him off in the fifty-ninth year of his age (September 21, 1558).

28. The abdication of Charles had entirely severed the connection between the Spanish and German empires; and Ferdinand I., who succeeded to the latter, was able to devote his attention to German affairs, without those distractions to which his brother's more extensive dominion had rendered him liable. Even during his brother's life, Ferdinand had taken an active part in the politics of the empire, in virtue of his important position as sovereign of the Austrian dominions—which dominions Charles had made over to him and his posterity in perpetuity in 1521. By his marriage with the sister of Louis, king of Hungary, who died without male heir in 1526, Ferdinand had added her rich inheritance, consisting of Hungary, Bohemia,

Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia, to his own Austrian possessions; and, accordingly, from that date these countries have followed the political fortunes of Austria. His right to the sovereignty of Hungary had, indeed, been disputed by the Hungarians, who received aid from the Turks in opposing him; and he had had no small difficulty in crushing a similar revolt of the Bohemians. He had scarcely consolidated the Austrian power among the populations thus added to it, when he was called to assume the empire. Before confirming his election, the states exacted from him guarantees that he would respect the liberties of the empire, and the 'peace of religion.'

29. Ferdinand I. (1556–1564) made it his policy to hold the balance equally between the Catholics and the Protestants. He even resisted the papal attempts to exercise authority within the limits of the empire; and it was during his reign that the states abolished the custom of requiring the emperors of Germany to receive papal coronation. Though thus by no means servile to the papacy, Ferdinand was yet anxious, if possible, to put an end to the schism which existed in the church. For this purpose, he insisted on the re-assembling of the Council of Trent—a general assembly of the whole church, which had been originally convened, in accordance with the demands of Charles V., by a bull of Pope Paul III. in 1545, and which had been several times prorogued and adjourned without having done any real work. At length, on the 18th of January 1562, the Council was re-assembled by a bull of Pius IV., the fourth in succession after Paul. Besides the cardinals, there were present 112 archbishops, bishops, and abbots, and many deputies. Ferdinand tried to induce the Protestant princes to acknowledge the Council, and send deputies to it on their own behalf. This, however, they refused to do; and the Council, therefore, represented only the Catholics. Its sittings extended over nearly two years, in the course of which the Council took a general survey of the entire state of the church, and of the entire dispute between the Catholics and the Protestants. The conclusions to which the Council came, however, and which were formally ratified on the 26th of January 1564

by Pope Pius IV., were not of a nature to repair the breach which had been made in Christendom. They were in substance a re-affirmation, in a number of precise canons, of all the controverted doctrines of Catholicism. As such they were promulgated, and made binding on all Catholics and all Catholic governments. What renders them more interesting is, that since the Council of Trent no general or ecumenical council has been held or convened. Its decisions, accordingly, are still appealed to by Catholic theologians as the final voice of the church in matters of faith and practice.

30. Maximilian II., the son and successor of Ferdinand (1564–1576), followed the tolerant policy of his father, and was even more favourable to the Reformers. His son, Rudolf II. (1576–1612), pursued a contrary course, and his tyrannies and intolerance plunged the empire into confusion. At this point, however, it will be convenient to interrupt the history of the German Empire till we have narrated the progress of events, and especially of the Reformation, in the other European states.

31. II. SWITZERLAND.—We have already traced the progress of the Reformation in Switzerland to the year 1528, at which time the cantons of Zurich and Berne had openly adopted the principles of the Reformation, while the remaining cantons remained divided between Catholicism and Protestanism. In 1530, the cantons of Basle and Schaffhausen acceded to the Reformed cause; and in the following year, war broke out between the Catholics and the Protestants of Switzerland. The forces of the five Catholic cantons of Zug, Schwytz, Uri, Lucerne, and Unterwalden, advanced against Zurich; and a battle took place at Cappel, near Zurich, in which Zwingle was killed, in the forty-eighth year of his age (October 11, 1531). After the death of Zwingle, the conduct of the Reformation in Switzerland devolved on Œcolampadius and other men of note, one of the most famous of whom was a French priest, named Farel, who had settled in Geneva in 1530. In the year 1532, a synod was held at Berne, at which the Swiss Protestants adopted and published a formal statement of their principles in a document styled *The Helvetic Confession.*

This Helvetic Confession differed in various points from the Augsburg Confession of the German Protestants; and during the struggles of the German Protestants against Charles V., their neighbours, the Swiss Protestants, as forming a distinct sect, were excluded from the treaty of Smalkalde. In short, the Swiss Reformation originated by Zwingle continued its own separate course, as a movement resembling the German or Lutheran Reformation in its main principles, but not identical with it.

32. At first, as we have seen, Zurich had been the head-quarters of the Swiss Reformation, but after the death of Zwingle, Geneva took the first place. This city was then in a very peculiar position, being attached to the Swiss Confederacy, as an allied town, without vote, while it was exposed to attacks from the dukes of Savoy, and other princes, who claimed sovereignty over it. The Reformed principles found their way into the town, and were so diligently preached by Farel and others, that in the year 1536 the municipal government established the Protestant form of worship. Precisely at this epoch, there arrived in Geneva a man destined not only to carry forward the Swiss Reformation beyond the point which it had then reached, but also, through it, to give a new direction and impulse to the religious beliefs of Europe. This was the Frenchman, John Cauvin, more commonly called John Calvin.

33. Born at Noyon, in Picardy, in 1509, the son of a cooper, Calvin was educated for the Romish Church. He pursued his studies at Paris, Orleans, and other places; and before he had attained his twenty-third year, he had become known for his great abilities and scholarship. About this time (1532), he was led to embrace the doctrines of the Reformation, then beginning to spread in France. His opinions obliged him to quit Paris; and after residing in some provincial towns in France, he removed to Basle, in Switzerland. Here, in the year 1535, he published, in Latin, a work on which he had been engaged for several years, entitled *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. This work, the aim of which was to exhibit in a systematic form, and with all logical precision, the entire body of doctrines constituting the Protestant theology,

immediately took its place as a work of European importance. No such attempt had been made before, and the young French theologian was felt to have performed a service entitling him to be regarded as one of the pillars of Protestantism. From that time forward, Calvin was named along with Luther—Luther as the man of energetic soul, who had originated the revolt from the papacy; Calvin as the man of clear and logical intellect, who pushed the doctrines of his predecessors to their consequences, and embodied them in a system. At the solicitation of Farel, Calvin went to Geneva, where he settled as a preacher and lecturer in theology. He and Farel laboured to establish a church in Geneva on a model somewhat different from that which had been adopted in Zurich and other Swiss towns, and far more rigid in its discipline. Neither the authorities of Geneva, however, nor the people, were prepared to accept so strict an ecclesiastical constitution as the two Frenchmen wished to impose—a constitution which abolished all festival-days, and, in other respects, interfered with popular customs and prejudices. In 1538, they were ordered to leave the town; and Farel migrated to Neufchatel, while Calvin went to Strasburg. At Strasburg, Calvin succeeded in establishing a church on his own model, increasing his reputation at the same time by various publications expounding his peculiar principles. In 1541, the municipality of Geneva, in which town the Catholic party had been very active since Calvin's departure, invited him to return. He obeyed the summons; and from that year till his death in 1564, Geneva was the place of his residence. Here, assisted by Castalio, Theodore Beza, and other Reformers and scholars, he laboured indefatigably in setting up that model of church-government which he believed to be most in accordance with Scripture. The authorities obeyed his direction; and, from being one of the most licentious towns in Europe, Geneva became one of the most remarkable for the severity of its manners. Attracted by the fame of Calvin as a teacher of theology, Reformers of all countries went to Geneva to study under him and to observe his manner of proceeding; and these Reformers carried back to their native countries the

principles they had learned, and endeavoured to establish a form of church-government similar to that which had been found so efficacious in Geneva. Thus there arose a school of Reformers called *Calvinists*, as distinct both from the Lutherans and the Zwinglians, though not differing materially from the latter. Calvinism was, in fact, developed Zwinglianism, and as such it took root in Switzerland, from which country, as a centre, it spread over Europe. One of its peculiarities was, that it prescribed the Presbyterian form of church-government—that is, the management of ecclesiastical affairs by clergymen of equal rank, assisted by laymen—in lieu of the episcopal or hierarchical form, established in the Romish Church, and preserved by the Lutherans. In carrying out this model of church-government at Geneva, Calvin was inflexible and persevering. He was also severe on deviations from his own theological system; and it is a striking illustration of the intolerant spirit of these times, that Calvin, himself so distinguished as an assertor of the liberty of the human conscience against the papal tyranny, sanctioned the burning of Servetus, a man belonging to the Protestant ranks, but who held opinions which the majority of Protestants accounted heretical and blasphemous. Even the mild Melancthon acquiesced in the propriety of the sentence against Servetus.

34. From the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century, Switzerland continued to present the anomalous appearance of a small state in the middle of Europe, defending its liberties externally against the attacks of powerful neighbouring princes, particularly those of Savoy and Austria, and divided internally into Catholic cantons and Protestant cantons, these last adopting either the Calvinistic or the older Zwinglian model of church-government. The independence of the cantons, and even of the towns, of each other, prevented any uniform system from being enforced over the whole country; but the same cause contributed to foster public and private liberty.

35. III. FRANCE.—The most important external transactions of France, as a nation, during the reign of Francis I. (1515–1547), were those wars with Charles V.

for the possession of Northern Italy, of which a summary account has already been given. To this reign, however, belongs also an event of internal French history, far more important in reality—the diffusion of the principles of the Reformation among the French people. As early as 1530, the doctrines of Luther and Zwingle found adherents in France, reviving the relics of the Albigenses in the southern provinces. Among the most distinguished of the early French Reformers, besides Farel, Calvin, and Beza, were Pierre d'Olivet, and Michael Cop, rector of the university of Paris. By the teaching of these Reformers, assisted by the satires of literary men and wits, the faith of the nation in the papacy was shaken to its foundations; a Protestantism of a more or less serious kind became fashionable even among persons of rank; and the new creed counted among its most zealous adherents Francis's own sister, the Princess Margaret, and other members of the royal family. Francis himself was often induced, by political reasons, to favour the enemies of the papacy; and a hope was occasionally entertained by the Reformers, that he would see it to be for his interest to encourage Protestantism in his dominions. It was to Francis that Calvin dedicated his *Institutes*. Francis, however, remained firm in his allegiance to the Romish faith, and began to shew his firmness by persecuting the Protestants. In 1535, he was present, with his family and court, at the public burning of six Protestants in the streets of Paris; and during the rest of his reign, similar executions were common in all parts of France. The persecutions were conducted by the local authorities and the provincial parliaments, but with the royal sanction. Still, the Protestant opinions spread, pervading the whole of French society, and in some districts drawing away the entire population from the national church. In 1545, two villages in Provence were burned, and all their inhabitants massacred indiscriminately, for their obstinacy in heresy. The form of Protestantism which found most acceptance in France was Calvinism, partly from the circumstance that Calvin was a Frenchman, but more

from the adaptation of such a work as the *Institutes* to the native tendencies of the French mind and character. The Protestants of France, however, were not called Calvinists, but *Huguenots*—a name of uncertain origin—said by some to have been imported out of Switzerland; by others, to have been invented in France. It was first used as a term of reproach by the Catholics, but gradually it came into common use.

36. Francis I. was succeeded by his son Henry II. (1547–1559). Henry renewed his father's wars with Charles V., and leagued with the Protestant princes of Germany in their final struggle with that ruler. He was also engaged in wars with England and Spain. Although leagued with Protestants abroad, he persecuted them at home; and the Huguenots were subjected to such severities during his reign, that a bitter enmity was established between them and their Catholic fellow-countrymen. It was during the reign of this sovereign that the celebrated Guise family attained political preponderance in France. The founder of this family was Claude, one of the sons of Rene II., Duke of Lorraine, who had migrated into France in the early part of the sixteenth century, and married a princess of the great House of Bourbon. He served Francis I. in his wars, and was created by him Duke of Guise, in Picardy, and a peer of France. One of his daughters married James V. of Scotland, and became the mother of the famous Mary, Queen of Scots (1542). He left six sons to inherit and extend the family power in France. The eldest of these, Francis, attained great influence during his father's life by his military talents and force of character, and succeeded to the dukedom in 1550. Another son, Charles, embraced the ecclesiastical career, and rose to the first rank of the French clergy, as Cardinal of Lorraine. These two Guises, with their four brothers, were all-powerful at the court of Henry II. They brought over their niece, the young Queen of Scots, to France, and arranged a marriage between her and Henry's eldest son, Francis. The marriage took place

in 1558, when the bridegroom was fifteen, and the bride sixteen years of age. Meanwhile, the rest of the French nobility were jealous of the influence thus acquired by a family of foreign origin; and various factions were formed to oppose the Guises. Their chief antagonists among the higher nobility were the two heads of the Bourbon family—Anthony, whose marriage with a princess of Navarre had raised him to the dignity of sovereign of that kingdom; and his brother Louis, Prince of Condé. As these princes were favourable to the Reformation, while their opponents, the Guises, were zealous Catholics, the Huguenots of France ranged themselves on the side of the Bourbon faction.

37. During the reign of Henry II., the factions kept their animosity within bounds; but after his death, which was caused by a wound in the eye accidentally received in a tournament (1559), their rivalry broke out with such fury as to plunge France into a series of civil wars.

38. Francis II., the son and successor of Henry, and the husband of Mary, Queen of Scots, reigned but one year (1559–1560), during which his wife's uncles, the Guises, held him under tutelage. They governed France ably, but with great severity towards their political rivals, and towards the Huguenots. A conspiracy was organised against them by the Prince of Condé; but it was discovered, and many of those engaged in it were put to death. This affair, known as the Conspiracy of Amboise, increased their power; and they succeeded at last in arresting Condé himself, and condemning him to death. Before the sentence could be carried into effect, however, the young king died, and Condé was set at liberty.

39. Charles IX., the brother of Francis, succeeded him on the throne, and his reign (1560–1574) is one of the darkest in the annals of France. Being but ten years of age at his accession, the regency was at first exercised by his mother, Catherine de' Medici, who sought to establish a party independent of the Guises. For this purpose, she favoured the Huguenots, who were then estimated at about a fifth of the entire population of

France. The Guises, on the other hand, formed an alliance with the Constable Montmorenci, the Marshal St Andre, and other zealous Catholics, against the Huguenots. This Triumvirate, as it was called, succeeded, at a states-general held in 1561, in procuring an edict forbidding the exercise of Protestant worship. The Huguenots, however, took up arms with such alacrity, that the edict was not enforced; and a conference was held at Poissy in 1562, at which a debate took place, in the young king's presence, between Theodore Beza, as the defender of Protestantism, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, as the defender of the Catholic Church. It was agreed to accord a modified toleration to the Huguenots, and to allow them to meet for religious worship outside the towns. The Triumvirate set this edict at defiance, and the massacre of a Protestant congregation in Champagne by the servants of the Duke of Guise, precipitated a civil war. The Catholics, headed by the Triumvirate and by the king of Navarre, who had been induced to abandon the Huguenot cause, were strongest in the north and east of France; they had the regular army at their disposal, and were supported by the king of Spain, and other foreign Catholic princes. The Huguenots were led by Condé and the famous Admiral Coligni; they were strongest in the south and west, and received some aid from England and the Protestants of Germany. The war lasted a year, the victory being, on the whole, on the side of the Catholics; but the death of the king of Navarre in battle, and the assassination of the Duke of Guise by a Protestant named Pothot, turned the scale, and in 1563 a new edict was passed favourable to the Huguenots. The terms of this edict were ill kept by the king; and the queen-mother also changed her policy, and began to persecute. In the year 1567, accordingly, a second civil war broke out, which continued for three years. In the course of this war, the Prince of Condé was slain, and Admiral Coligni remained as the chief support of the Huguenot cause. The Huguenots now founded their hopes on Henry, the young prince of Bearn, son of the late king of Navarre,

whom his mother, Jeanne D'Albret, a firmer Protestant than her husband, had educated carefully in Protestant principles. The young prince was brought by his mother to the Protestant camp, and presented to the Huguenots as a fit successor to the Prince of Condé. As he was but sixteen years of age, however, Coligni retained the command. The war lasted till 1570, when, very unexpectedly, the court made overtures of peace on terms very favourable to the Huguenots. They were granted an amnesty for the past, and a restricted liberty of worship in the districts where they were most numerous; and, as a security for the observance of the treaty, they were permitted to garrison Rochelle and three other towns of France. The circumstances in which this peace was granted, and the unwonted alacrity of the court in pressing for a reconciliation, rendered the Huguenots at first suspicious of treachery; and Coligni, with the young Prince of Bearn and the other chiefs of the Protestants, withdrew to Rochelle for safety. The punctual observance of the treaty, however, by the court, and the earnest professions of friendship for the Huguenots made by the king personally, disarmed these suspicions; Coligni and other Protestants were induced to go to Paris, where the king received them with every demonstration of affection; a marriage was arranged between the Prince of Bearn and the king's sister; and it seemed as if the feud between the Catholics and the Protestants of France was about to be closed for ever.

40. But a fearful catastrophe was at hand, by which the Protestants were to be undeceived. The marriage between the Prince of Bearn and the sister of the king was celebrated on the 18th of August 1572; and Paris was unusually full of Protestants, who had come from the provinces to witness an event so important for their interests. Four days after the marriage, and while Paris was busy with festivities in honour of it, an attempt was made to assassinate Admiral Coligni in the streets. He was fired at from a window by a servant of the Duke of Guise. The wound, however, was but slight; and though the attempt caused great alarm among the

Protestants, the behaviour of the court was such as to allay suspicions, and cause the affair to be regarded only as a private act of revenge. In reality, however, the assassination of the admiral was part of a horrible plot which had been arranged by the king's mother, his brother, the Duke of Anjou, and various other bigoted Catholics about the court. The failure of the attempt, and the fear that the admiral, who had had an interview with the king, would conduct investigations so as to discover its real origin, precipitated the plans of the conspirators. On the morning of Saturday, the 23d of August, they held a secret conference among themselves; and on the same day the queen-mother, the Duke of Anjou, and various other Catholic lords, had an interview with the king. The result of this interview but too soon appeared. Before two o'clock on the following morning—the morning of Sunday, August 24, which chanced to be the Feast of St Bartholomew—while all Paris was still and asleep, the king, his mother, and the Duke of Anjou, repaired to a balcony in the palace of the Louvre. All three were dreadfully agitated—the king in particular. They listened breathlessly for some signal. Suddenly a pistol-shot was heard; the king started like a man in agony; and at that moment the bell of a neighbouring church began to toll. The sound was taken up by other churches in the city, the great bell of the Parliament House pealing loudest of all; and in a few moments armed men were heard tramping along the streets. The uproar increased every minute; and soon cries could be distinguished of—'Treason!' 'Death to the Huguenots!' 'Kill, kill; it is the king's orders!' The meaning of these cries was soon understood—a pre-arranged massacre of the Huguenots was going on all over Paris. Bands of armed men had been posted in various quarters of the city by the Duke of Anjou, the Duke of Guise, the Duke d'Aumale, the Duke de Montpensier, and others of the conspirators: these began the work; and the populace of the city, persuaded that a Huguenot plot had been discovered, soon joined them. The massacre continued all day; and on the two following days it

was resumed. Upwards of 10,000 Huguenots, of all ages and of both sexes, were killed in cold blood, one of the first victims being the Admiral Coligni. The massacre also extended to the provinces; and it is calculated that, in all, not fewer than 70,000 Huguenots were murdered before the work of blood ceased. The life of the young Prince of Bearn was spared, on condition of his becoming a Catholic.

41. Such was the terrible massacre of St Bartholomew. The news was received with horror in all Protestant countries; but public thanksgivings were ordered in Rome and Madrid, as for a great Catholic victory. Later Catholic historians, however, have joined with Protestants in stigmatising the deed as 'a ferocious cruelty, without parallel in the annals of public crime.' The true history of the affair is still shrouded in mystery. Some maintain that the plot had been organised for several years, and that the peace of 1570 had been arranged with a view to it. It seems more likely, however, that though the court-party had long meditated a blow against the Huguenots as a body, the precise form of the blow was suddenly determined on. The extent to which the king was implicated is also a subject of dispute. It is most probable that he was persuaded, at the last moment, to give his consent to a plan which had already been determined on by his mother and her associates. This agrees with his character, which was that of a weak, restless, violent youth, rather than of a profound and dissembling bigot. It also agrees with his subsequent behaviour; for, though he openly acknowledged the massacre as his own act in the Parliament of Paris, and maintained that it was necessary for the peace of his kingdom, his whole life afterwards shewed his remorse. He lived two years in a state of extreme bodily and mental imbecility, haunted by visions of murdered corpses; and died in 1574, at the early age of twenty-four.

42. Under the title of Henry III., the Duke of Anjou succeeded to the throne. His reign of fifteen years (1574–1589) was one series of plots and civil wars. The Huguenots, alienated from the court by the massacre of

St Bartholomew, maintained a defensive attitude, and kept possession of various towns and fortresses. Their leader, the Prince of Bearn—who, by the death of his mother in 1572, had acceded to the kingdom of Navarre—was detained a prisoner by the court till 1576, when he escaped, and, renouncing his forced profession of the Catholic faith, once more assumed his hereditary position among the Huguenots. On the other hand, the Guises and their adherents formed a Catholic League, in order to compel the king to pursue that policy of extermination against the Huguenots which the massacre of St Bartholomew had initiated. Between these two parties, the king wavered—now siding with the Huguenots, now with the Guises. For many years, France was a scene of a continued civil war, called 'the War of the Three Henrys' —the Huguenots being commanded by Henry, King of Navarre; the Catholics by Henry, Duke of Guise; and the third faction by the king himself. Disgusted by the king's debaucheries, the Parisians revolted in favour of the Guises; the city was barricaded; and the king escaped with difficulty. To extricate himself from this dilemma, he caused the Duke of Guise and his brother to be assassinated. This act roused all the Catholics of France against him; the pope excommunicated him; and the Sorbonne declared the throne vacant. Henry then sought the alliance of the Huguenots, and was advancing against Paris at the head of a united army of Royalists and Huguenots, when the dagger of a fanatical Dominican monk, named Jacques Clement, put an end to his wretched career (August 2, 1589). With him, the House of Valois became extinct, after having occupied the French throne for 260 years.

43. Henry of Navarre, known thenceforward in France by the beloved name of Henry IV. (1589–1610), was the lawful heir to the throne, and had been nominated by Henry III. as his successor. With him commences the Bourbon dynasty of French monarchs. For some years, however, France refused to accept a Huguenot king. The Catholic party nominated the Duke of Mayenne lieutenant-general of the kingdom; and more than half

the population of France adhered to his standard. It was in vain that Henry, who united skilful generalship with great personal courage, gained the great battles of Arques and Ivry, and took town after town; the Catholics shewed a resolution to protract the war for ever, rather than acknowledge allegiance to a Huguenot. In these circumstances, Henry, whose Protestant principles were founded rather on considerations of policy and family honour, than on deep personal conviction, opened negotiations with the Catholic leaders, and agreed to profess the Catholic faith. This he did publicly at St Denis in July 1593; in the following year, he made his entry into Paris; and by the year 1598, the whole of France had submitted to him. By some, Henry's conversion was regarded as necessary; by others, it was accounted a stain on his character. The majority believed that during the rest of his reign he was sincere in his new faith, but others believed that he always remained a Huguenot at heart. At all events, his policy was one of religious toleration. By an edict, issued in 1598, and known as the Edict of Nantes, he granted a full redress of the grievances under which the Protestants of France laboured, and guaranteed them liberty of conscience. The Edict, on the whole, was faithfully kept, though some of its provisions were frustrated in Catholic districts by the local administrators of justice. The latter part of Henry's reign was also signalised by a series of admirable reforms in the finances and organisation of his kingdom. Aided by his able Protestant minister of state, Sully, he adopted measures which enormously reduced the national debt and the imposts on his subjects, and gave a new development to the manufactures of France. He embellished Paris with numerous public buildings, and founded various institutions for the promotion of public education. He was liberal in his encouragement of men of talent; and induced Grotius, Casaubon, Joseph Scaliger, De Thou, and other learned men, to make Paris their residence. Above all, he rendered his memory dear to the French people by his efforts to ameliorate the condition of the labouring-classes—a portion of the community whose

existence and rights had hardly been recognised by preceding monarchs. One of his sayings was, that he should never be satisfied until every labourer in France should have 'a fowl boiling in his pot.' While thus popular with the poorest of his subjects, he was no less a favourite with the highest. 'He united,' says one of his counsellors, 'a blunt frankness of manner with the most dexterous policy, the loftiest sentiments with the most delightful simplicity, and an undaunted courage with extreme sensitiveness and benevolence.' Popular as he was, however, various attempts were made to assassinate him by bigoted adherents of the old Catholic party; and to one of these he fell a victim. He was stabbed to death in his carriage on the 14th of May 1610, by a man named Ravaillac, who was executed for the crime with the most excruciating tortures. The memory of Henri Quatre is still cherished by the French as that of the best of the kings of the old monarchy.

44. Louis XIII., the son and successor of Henry (1610–1643), inherited none of the abilities of his father. Being only nine years of age at the time of his accession, the regency was exercised by his mother, Mary de' Medici, the second wife of Henri Quatre. Under her government, the chief power at the court was held by her favourite, a Florentine, named Concini. The nobles, with the Prince of Condé at their head, resented the influence of the favourite, and began a civil war. Louis also was impatient of the rule of the foreigner; and, taking counsel with a young courtier named Luines, he ventured to order his arrest (1617). The favourite, resisting the officer sent to arrest him, was slain; his wife, accused of sorcery and treason before the Parliament of Paris, was publicly executed; the queen-mother was sent as a prisoner to Blois; and Louis, who had recently been married to a daughter of the Spanish king, Philip III., assumed the nominal direction of the kingdom. In reality, however, his favourite, Luines, exercised the power. After some years, the queen-dowager escaped from her confinement, and, being supported by a party of the nobles, renewed the civil war. At this crisis, an ecclesiastic, Armand du

Plessis, bishop of Luçon, already known at court as having been attached to the household of the queen-mother as 'almoner' before her banishment, exerted his abilities to effect a reconciliation. He succeeded; and from that time forward exercised an extraordinary influence over both mother and son. In 1622, he received a cardinal's hat, assuming the name of Cardinal de Richelieu; in 1624, he was made councillor of state; and from that year till his death he was the ruling mind in France, the king being, in reality, the second man in his own kingdom. The great objects of Richelieu's policy were—the increase of the power of the monarchy by the depression of the French nobility; the destruction of the political influence of the Calvinistic party; and the elevation of France as a continental power by the humiliation of Austria. His comprehensive genius and great perseverance enabled him to accomplish these objects. Partly by intrigue, and partly by severity, he broke the power of the nobles, and converted France into a monarchical despotism, which he himself wielded as the king's minister. He reduced the Calvinists to political impotence as a party, without infringing very seriously on the liberty of conscience granted to them as individuals by the Edict of Nantes. In all his dealings with foreign powers, he kept the aggrandisement of France in view, leaguing with the Protestants of Germany, and with the Puritans of England, when it suited his purpose, and weakening the surrounding Catholic powers by stirring up animosities between them. All in all, he was perhaps the ablest minister that France ever produced; and at his death in 1642, he left France a great and compact monarchy, feared by the rest of Europe. The queen-mother had died in exile a few months before him; and Louis XIII. survived him only five months, bequeathing his crown to his son, the celebrated Louis XIV.

45. IV. SPAIN AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.—During the reign of Charles V. (1516–1556), the history of Spain was merged in the general history of his vast European empire. Occupied with his wars against Francis I., and with the affairs of Germany, Charles paid little attention

to his Spanish dominions. His government was odious to the Spaniards, who were constantly involved in disputes with those to whom he committed the Spanish administration during his absence from the country. The only events of Spanish history belonging to this reign that require to be specially mentioned, are the continued progress of Spanish colonisation in America, and the commencement of that extraordinary reaction against the Reformation, which, under the name of *Jesuitism*, has performed so important a part in the subsequent history, not of Spain only, but of all Europe. (1.) *Progress of Spanish Colonisation in America.*—While Charles was engaged in abortive schemes of European conquest, the enterprise of private Spanish adventurers, whose names he hardly knew, was adding new regions of the transatlantic continent to the Spanish crown. In 1518–21, Cortez completed the conquest of Mexico; and in 1531, Pizarro achieved that of Peru. These conquests were chiefly interesting to Charles on account of the gold and silver which they brought to his treasure. (2.) *The Rise of Jesuitism.*—The principles of the Reformation soon found their way into Spain, where, however, the bigoted character of the people, and the zeal of the Inquisition, subjected them to a far more rigorous persecution than they experienced in any other country. Not content, however, with merely persecuting the new movement, Spain, true to its character as the most Catholic country in the world, had the distinction of originating a counter-movement. The author of this reaction against Protestantism was a Biscayan gentleman, named Ignatius Loyola, born in Loyola, in the province of Guipuscoa, in 1491. He had served as a soldier in some of the wars of Charles V.; but having received a wound which confined him for a long time to his bed, he was led to abandon the military life, and devote himself to religious contemplations. Being a man of most enthusiastic mind, he conceived the idea of signalising himself by imitating the famous saints of the early church who had accomplished such extraordinary things in the service of religion. After much musing on the mode of

restoring religion in the world, and of defending the Catholic faith against heresy, he resolved to found a new religious order, the members of which should be subjected to a strict course of mental training, and bound by rigorous rules. In the prosecution of this design, he quitted Spain, and went to Paris, where he took holy orders. In 1534, he and six companions—Francis Xavier, Lainez, Salmeron, Bobadilla, Rodriguez, and Lefevre—associated themselves by a solemn compact in defence of the Catholic faith. They proceeded to Rome, and laid their plans before Paul III., who, in 1540, gave his sanction to the institution of a new order, to be called the 'Society of Jesus.' This order was to differ from all existing orders, in having an organisation absolutely despotic and military. Its members were to be divided into ranks, strictly subordinate to each other, and all bound implicitly to obey the general of the order, who was to be subject to the pope alone. Thus bound together, the members of the order were to mix in civil society undistinguished by any monastic dress, and were to devote their whole lives to the service of religion, more especially in the training of youth, the management of the political business of states, the repression of heresy, and the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts. No sooner had the order been founded than zealous Catholics in every country flocked into it. The original associates laboured assiduously in its propagation—Loyola himself acting as the first general of the order, in which office he was succeeded by Lainez; while others travelled hither and thither through Europe; and some, like the pious Xavier, became missionaries to distant lands. Before the death of Loyola in 1556, there were upwards of a hundred schools of Jesuits in Spain, Italy, France, and Germany, and bands of Jesuit missionaries in Africa, the East Indies, and America. And thus, though Spanish in its origin, Jesuitism became in a short time a movement co-extensive with Protestantism, penetrating all countries, and affecting the course of events in all. There were Jesuits at the Council of Trent, and Jesuits were among the leaders of the wars in France for the extermination of the Huguenots. In fact, whatever

was most ardent and intense in Roman Catholicism, took the form of Jesuitism; and but for the appearance of this new order, it is probable that the papacy would not have been able to maintain itself against the Reformation.

46. After the abdication of Charles V., the Spanish empire devolved, as a separate inheritance, on his son Philip II. This empire, even when separated from Germany, was by far the most extensive in the world. It included, besides Spain Proper, the following dependencies—Naples, Sicily, and Milan; the Netherlands and Franche Comté; Tunis, Oran, the Cape Verd and the Canary Islands; Mexico, Peru, Chili, and the Spanish West Indies. The revenues derived from this extensive dominion exceeded those of any other European monarch. Moreover, at the time of his accession, Philip, by his marriage with Mary, Queen of England, possessed an influence on the policy of that country, which continued till 1558, when Mary's death put an end to the connection of the English and Spanish crowns.

47. The reign of Philip II. (1556–1598) was one of gloomy tyranny within his own dominions, and of incessant interference with the liberties of other states. For some years after his accession he was engaged, along with England, in a war with France. This war was concluded in 1559, when Philip took up his residence in Spain, which country he never afterwards quitted. He transferred the seat of government from Toledo, the ancient capital of Castile, to Madrid, which thenceforth became the capital of Spain. He built the famous palace of the Escurial near this city, and made it his favourite residence. Here, surrounded by monks and astute counsellors trained in the principles of despotism, he led a gloomy and morose life. Not destitute of abilities, but with narrow views, and a cold and cruel heart, whose only animating principle was an intense religious fanaticism, he soon filled all Spain with the terrors of his inquisitorial rule. He began a wholesale persecution of the heretics within his dominions, and publicly announced, that he would rather make Spain a solitude than have heretics for his subjects. In every city of Spain there were *auto da fés*, or 'public acts of

faith,' in which as many as thirty or forty heretics at a time were roasted alive; and when such executions took place at Madrid, Philip made it a point of duty to be present at them. On one such occasion, one of the victims implored his mercy. 'Die thou, and all like thee!' was his ruthless answer: 'if my own son were a heretic, I would give him to the flames.' It was not only against the Protestants that his fanatical zeal was directed. The Moriscos, or relics of the Moors in Spain, who were among his most loyal subjects, and many of whom had purchased peace, during the reigns of his immediate predecessors, by an outward conformity to the Catholic Church, experienced such persecution under the Inquisitions which he established, that they openly revolted. The revolt was crushed in 1571; but many of the Moriscos emigrated to Africa, to escape his vengeance. Even in his own family, Philip shewed his stern and pitiless temper. His eldest son, Don Carlos, the child of his first wife, Mary of Portugal, and the heir-apparent of the Spanish throne, was arrested in 1568, on a charge of treason, and committed to prison, where he died after languishing a few months. Philip himself was accused of having had him poisoned; but the circumstances of the affair are involved in mystery. The fate of Don Carlos has been the subject of many romances and tragedies, the writers of which have usually represented the prince as a hero; more authentic accounts, however, represent him as having been insane.

48. Philip's tyranny extended beyond Spain itself. In his Italian possessions of Milan and Naples, fire and sword were employed for the extirpation of heresy; and in these countries the Inquisition succeeded, to all appearance, in destroying every germ of Protestantism. It was different in the Netherlands, the government of which Philip had intrusted to his sister, Margaret of Parma. Here also the Inquisition commenced its bloody work, and hundreds of Protestants perished at the stake. But the free spirit of the people revolted from the oppression of their Spanish tyrant, and the whole of the Netherlands rose in insurrection (1566). This 'Revolt of the Netherlands,' as it is called, is one of the most heroic transactions

of the sixteenth century, and deserves more particular mention in connection with the reign of Philip.

49. That part of Europe known as the *Netherlands* or *Low-Countries*, and inhabited originally by hardy men of the Low-Germanic stock, who had reclaimed much of it from the sea, and made it available by means of numberless dikes and canals, constructed with great care and labour, had always been considered as belonging to the general Germanic area. Divided, like the rest of Germany, into duchies, counties, bishoprics, and cities, it was included as a whole in the German Empire of Louis, the son of Charlemagne, and his successors, the chief power under them being in the hands of the Counts of Flanders, as the most considerable local potentates. In 1383, by a marriage of an heiress of one of the Counts of Flanders, this sovereignty of the Netherlands passed to the great House of Burgundy; on the dismemberment of whose possessions, after the death of Charles the Bold, the last Duke of Burgundy (1477), the Netherlands, as the inheritance of Mary, the daughter of Charles, came into the hands of her husband, the Archduke Maximilian of Austria, afterwards Emperor of Germany. From him they passed to his grandson, Charles V., who was a Netherlander by birth, and had a particular affection for this part of his dominions. The permanent union of the Netherlands with the Spanish monarchy, which he was to bequeath to his son Philip, was one of the schemes of Charles V., and was definitely arranged by the 'Pragmatic Sanction' of 1548. The Netherlands were then defined as consisting of seventeen provinces—the duchies of Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg, and Gueldres; the earldoms of Flanders, Hainault, Artois, Holland, Zeeland, Namur, and Zutphen; the marquisate of Antwerp; and the lordships of Mechlin, Friesland, Utrecht, Groningen, and Overyssel. These provinces, however, though incorporated with Spain, were still to retain a certain specified connection with the German Empire.

50. The Protestants of the Netherlands were very numerous, and were led by able and energetic men, such as the Counts Egmont and Horn, and William of Nassau,

Prince of Orange. The last was a man of no ordinary stamp. Born in 1533, the son of one of the first of the minor German princes who had embraced Lutheran principles, he had been educated at the court of Charles V., where, to please the emperor, he professed the Catholic faith. The emperor was especially attached to him, and esteemed him the ablest of all his younger counsellors. Owing to his premature gravity and sagacity, he obtained the name of 'William the Silent.' In consequence, probably, of his father's preference for the young Prince of Orange, Philip had conceived a violent personal hatred to him, which the prince returned with a hatred as deep, though less apparent; and no sooner had Philip's designs against the liberties of the Netherlands become manifest, than the prince resolved to oppose these designs with the whole force of his obstinate genius. As part of his plans, he renounced Catholicism, and professed himself an adherent of Calvinism—that form of Protestantism being most widely diffused in the Netherlands.

51. So effective were the first efforts of the insurgents against the government of the Princess of Parma, that Philip was obliged to send a Spanish army to subdue them. At the head of this army was a ferocious monster, the Duke of Alva, who, after he had suppressed the insurrection, instituted a tribunal, by which no fewer than 18,000 persons were sent to the scaffold. Among these victims were the Counts Egmont and Horn, who were executed at Brussels, June 5, 1568. To avoid the miseries of Alva's rule, thousands of Flemings emigrated to England, France, and Germany, where, in return for the protection afforded them, they introduced important branches of manufacture. Meanwhile, the Prince of Orange and his adherents continued the insurrection, and made war on the Spaniards both by land and sea. A Calvinistic confederacy was formed, and Calvinism openly established in many places. Neither the cruelties of Alva, nor the more politic government of his successors—Requesens, Don John of Austria, and Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, the ablest military commander of the age—were of avail against the resolute spirit of the confederates; and after

a war of ten years, signalised by splendid acts of courage and endurance, the foundations of a new European state were laid by the Treaty of Utrecht (January 25, 1579), by which the provinces of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gueldres, and Groningen, renounced allegiance to Spain, and asserted their independence. In the following year, the provinces of Friesland and Overyssel joined the confederacy; and thus was formed the celebrated *Republic of the Seven Provinces*, often called *Holland*, after the name of the most important province of the seven. Of this republic, William of Orange was elected head, under the title of Stadtholder.

52. Although seven provinces of the Netherlands were thus wrested from the Spanish rule, the abilities of the Spanish generals maintained Philip's power in the other ten, the inhabitants of which were partly Catholic and partly Protestant. In order also to recover the lost provinces, Philip offered a reward for the head of the brave stadtholder. This produced its effect; and in the year 1584, the Prince of Orange was assassinated at Delft by a Burgundian named Balthazar Gerard. The Provinces immediately elected his son Maurice, a youth of sixteen years of age, to succeed him; and the war was renewed with great spirit. At first, the conduct of the war devolved on the Earl of Leicester, whom Queen Elizabeth had sent over with English troops to assist the Dutch; ultimately, however (1587), Maurice assumed the command himself. He proved himself an able general, and gained many successes over the Spaniards, the most decisive of which was the battle of Turnhout (1597).

53. The assistance rendered by England to the revolted Netherlanders, turned the rage of Philip against that power, which he hated all the more that it was the stronghold of Protestantism. He openly avowed his intention to conquer the heretical island, which had belonged to his former wife. The English made preparations for defence; and their celebrated admiral, Drake, captured and burnt a number of Spanish galleons, laden with treasure from America, within sight of the Spanish coasts. Enraged at this insult, Philip fitted out one of the largest fleets that

had ever been sent to sea, for the invasion of England. It consisted of 132 ships, and was called the 'Invincible Armada.' Attacked in the Channel by the English admirals, this vast fleet was driven northwards to the coasts of Orkney and the Hebrides, where the greater part of it was destroyed by shipwreck. Only fifty-three vessels made their way back to Spain, and these in a shattered condition. The English, rejoicing in their deliverance, continued the war with renewed vigour; and their cruisers swept the seas of Spanish ships, and ravaged the coasts of Spain and her colonies.

54. One territorial acquisition in Europe somewhat consoled Philip for the loss of the Seven Provinces in the Netherlands, and the failure of his attempted conquest of England. This was the acquisition of Portugal in 1580. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, this part of the Iberian peninsula was a compact and independent sovereignty, distinguished for its maritime and commercial enterprise, under the rule of one of its ablest princes, Emanuel or Manoel (see Medieval History, § 278). He was succeeded in 1521 by John III., during whose reign (1521–1557) the Portuguese continued their discoveries and settlements on the coasts of Africa and in the East Indies and South America. They colonised Brazil; established settlements and factories on the western coasts of India; and opened a commerce with China and Japan. Lisbon, as the capital of Portugal, became one of the richest ports in the world. The despotic system of government practised in Portugal, however, prevented the country from reaping the full benefit of its commercial prosperity. Less enlightened than his predecessor Manoel, John permitted the establishment of the Inquisition in 1536; and a persecution ensued, directed first against the Jews, but afterwards against every form of heresy. Not even in Spain did this terrible tribunal work such fearful mischief. Thousands of Portuguese, Jews, and Protestants fled from the country, to avoid its terrors. Nor was it only in the mother-country that the Inquisition was established: in every Portuguese colony, a branch-Inquisition was set up; and some of these colonial Inquisitions—as, for example, that at Goa, in India—

surpassed that of the mother-country in zeal and cruelty. An additional blight to the prosperity of Portugal resulted from the influence obtained in its administration at a very early period by the Jesuits. Flocking to a country whose intolerant atmosphere was so congenial to them, the followers of Loyola soon swarmed in Portugal, and obtained the chief direction of its ecclesiastical and political affairs. The education of Sebastian, the grandson of John III., and the heir-apparent to the throne, was intrusted to them; and when the young prince became king (1557), they governed the kingdom during his minority. Sebastian was cut off in his twenty-fourth year, in a foolish expedition against the Moors of Africa; and was succeeded by his uncle, Cardinal Henry, who was called by his subjects 'the priest-king.' On his death in 1580, Philip II. was the most powerful candidate for the vacant throne, which he obtained, after some opposition on the part of the Portuguese nobles. Thus was Portugal united to Spain, and the union continued for upwards of sixty years, during which time all the Portuguese colonies were also attached to the Spanish crown. It was from Lisbon, as a Spanish port, that Philip fitted out his Armada for the conquest of England.

55. Philip III., the son and successor of Philip II. (1598–1621), was a man of far more humane disposition than his father, but of extreme indolence. The administration of the vast empire of Spain during his reign was entirely in the hands of his favourite, the Duke of Lerma, a man of dignified manners, but moderate capacity. From the period of his administration, dates the decline of the grandeur of Spain as a European power. After carrying on the war with England for some years, he concluded a peace with that country in 1604. His most conspicuous, and at the same time his most disastrous, act as a statesman, was the final expulsion of the Moors or Moriscos from Spain. On the pretext that these people, the relics of the old Moorish conquerors of Spain, were, notwithstanding their professions of Christianity, obstinate infidels, and that they held treasonable correspondence with the Moors of Africa, an edict was passed in 1610 banishing them for ever in a

body from the peninsula. In consequence of this edict, about a million of the most industrious and most skilful subjects of the Spanish crown were obliged to transport themselves, with whatever portion of their goods they could carry with them, to Barbary; extensive districts in Southern Spain were all but depopulated; and an injury was done to the prosperity of Spain from which, to this day, it has not recovered.

56. Philip IV. (1621–1665) did nothing to arrest the progress of Spanish decay. On the contrary, his reign was signalised by a new disaster—the revolt of the Portuguese. Disgusted with the administration of Olivarez, the minister of Philip, the Portuguese, after having been subject to Spain for sixty years, rose in rebellion, and chose for their king John of Braganza, a powerful native noble, descended from the old royal house (1641). This John of Braganza was the founder of the present dynasty of Portugal.

57. The war in the Netherlands, which had formed so important a feature in the history of Spain during the reign of Philip II., was continued under his successors. Maurice, of Nassau, conducted it with such ability on the part of the Netherlanders, as to earn the reputation of being one of the first captains of the age. His camp became a school of war, to which Protestant officers resorted from every country in Europe; while Catholic officers resorted in equal numbers to the camp of his equally famous opponent, Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, the Spanish generalissimo. Spinola, the successor of Farnese, was no less famous as a master in the art of war; and the campaigns and sieges of which he and Maurice made the Low-Countries the scene during the early part of the seventeenth century, are still studied by military men. At length, in 1609, a truce was concluded for twelve years between Spain and the United Provinces; and Maurice exchanged his military duties for those of civil government.

58. During the twenty years which had elapsed since the constitution of the Republic of the Seven Provinces, the new state had flourished greatly in spite of the war. Each province managed its own affairs freely, according to its

old German laws and customs; while the general business of the Republic was transacted by the stadtholder and the parliament of the states meeting at the Hague. Essentially a maritime and commercial people, the Dutch had no sooner thrown off the Spanish yoke, than they began to rival the Spaniards and Portuguese as colonists and traders in the East. In 1602, the Dutch East India Company was formed; in 1607, commercial establishments were made at Amboyna, Ternate, and other places; in 1611, the Dutch began to trade with Japan; and in 1619, they founded Batavia, in Java. Supported by such a trade, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and other Dutch ports, became scenes of unusual bustle and prosperity; and Dutch merchants took their place among the richest capitalists in Europe. Thus prosperous without, the Seven Provinces advanced internally in all the arts of peace. In shipbuilding, and various branches of manufacture, for which they had always been famous, they now took the lead of all other nations. Their country also became a scene of extraordinary intellectual activity, which was promoted by the refuge afforded by their free institutions to theological sectaries of all kinds, obliged by their opinions to quit their own countries. The university of Leyden, founded by William of Orange in 1575, had already become a celebrated seat of learning; while the older school of Utrecht retained its fame. Filled with native scholars, and with learned refugees from France, Great Britain, and Italy, the Netherlands carried out the work of the Reformation by fresh controversies and discussions, such as were not permitted in other countries. The majority of the Dutch clergy and people were Calvinists, following the system of doctrine and church-discipline laid down by the Reformers of Geneva; but Lutherans also existed in considerable numbers, and other sects began to make their appearance. Among these, one of the most notable was that of the Arminians, the founder of which was James Arminius, a native of Oudewater, in South Holland, born in 1560, and who, after having been educated at Utrecht, Leyden, and Geneva, had settled as a preacher in Amsterdam in 1588. Here he began to disseminate opinions on

the topics of free grace and predestination, at variance with the Calvinistic creed. His opinions gained ground; and in 1603 he was appointed professor of theology at Leyden. A controversy began between him and a fellow-professor named Gomar, who stepped forth as the champion of Calvinism; and for several years the Netherlands were agitated by disputes between the Arminians and the Gomarists. Synods of the Dutch clergy were held to discuss the matters in dispute; the States-general were also obliged to interfere in the controversy; nor did the death of Arminius in 1609 put an end to it.

59. Such was the state of affairs when the truce with Spain permitted Maurice to devote himself more assiduously to the civil duties of his stadtholderate. He soon began to exhibit selfish views in the government, and to encroach on the liberties of the Republic. In these designs, he was opposed by a patriotic party, headed by a civilian named Barneveldt—a man of extraordinary firmness and talent, whose services to the cause of national independence, in various capacities, during the struggle with Spain, had procured him a name among European statesmen, and the high office of grand-pensionary of the Republic. Among Barneveldt's adherents was a young member of the States-general named Hugo Groot, afterwards known, under his Latinised name of Grotius, as one of the greatest scholars and thinkers of his age. On the whole, Barneveldt and Grotius were favourable to the Arminian side of the controversy then agitating the Netherlands; in consequence of which, Maurice, in his efforts to encroach on the constitution, placed himself at the head of the Calvinistic party. For ten years the Republic was convulsed by a politico-theological war between the two parties. The point of issue was, not whether Arminianism should triumph over Calvinism, but whether any other church besides that of Geneva should be tolerated in the United Provinces. Barneveldt and his associates advocated toleration as a political good; and appealed to the fact, that the war of independence had originated, not in a contest of Calvinism against Catholicism, but in a contest of the people of the Netherlands, many Catholics included, against Spanish

despotism. They appealed also to the tolerant policy of William of Orange, the first stadtholder. Maurice, on the other hand, maintained that the Union of Utrecht had established Calvinism as the religion of the state. The states of Utrecht and Holland took part with Barneveldt; the other party held synods and conferences; and the public peace was disturbed. The dissensions were fostered by the interference of the ambassadors of the English king, James I., who had conceived a personal dislike to Barneveldt. At length, Maurice had recourse to force; Barneveldt, Grotius, and other leaders of the opposite party, were arrested; and in accordance with a decree of a synod held at Dort (1618), the Arminian clergy were driven from their churches, and the Arminian magistrates deprived of their posts. In November 1618, Barneveldt was brought to trial on a charge of having 'troubled the state and religion;' and on the 14th of May 1619, he was executed on a scaffold at the Hague. Grotius was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment; but after a confinement of eighteen months, he escaped by the contrivance of his wife, and fled to France.

60. The execution of the virtuous and patriotic Barneveldt is a stain on the memory of Maurice. Nor did the action serve the purpose for which it was intended. A reaction of public opinion followed the death of Barneveldt; wherever Maurice appeared, he was received with execrations; and all his schemes for acquiring for the House of Nassau the unlimited sovereignty of the States were frustrated. It was a relief to Maurice when the conclusion of the truce, and the renewal of the war with Spain (1621), called him once more into the field. He fought various campaigns with his usual skill against his old antagonist, Spinola; and died in 1625, bequeathing both the principality of Orange and the stadtholderate of the United Provinces to his half-brother, Frederic-Henry of Nassau. This prince, the son of William the Silent, by his second wife Louisa, the daughter of the famous Admiral Coligni, behaved in a manner worthy of his parentage. He opposed the Spaniards ably in the field, and repaired, by acts of clemency, the injustice of his

predecessor to the Arminians. He was succeeded, in 1647, by his son, William II.

61. V. THE BRITISH ISLANDS.—At the period of the commencement of the Reformation in Germany, the throne of England and Ireland was occupied by Henry VIII. (1509–1547), and that of Scotland by James V. (1513–1542). The new principles very soon found their way into both kingdoms, and in both were at first persecuted. Ultimately, however, both kingdoms adopted them, and established them by law.

62. In *England*, the Reformation was, externally at least, indebted for its early triumph to Henry VIII. After having violently opposed the Reformed doctrines, and even earned the title of 'Defender of the Faith,' by writing a treatise against Luther, Henry was suddenly induced, by personal considerations, to renounce his allegiance to the papacy. Desiring to divorce his first wife, Catherine, and marry Anne Boleyn, one of her maids of honour, he opened negotiations with the court of Rome to procure the pope's sanction. These negotiations having failed, the imperious monarch disgraced his favourite, Wolsey, and placed himself at the head of the Protestant movement, which had been gaining strength in his dominions. The relics of the old Wycliffites or Lollards, awakened to new life by the blast of Luther's trumpet, constituted the chief force of this movement; but various learned men from the English universities, who had been led by independent study to embrace Protestant doctrines, joined the movement, and gave it a fresh impulse. Among these were Tyndal, Latimer, and Cranmer. Henry, after consulting with Cranmer and others, resolved, as the only way of effecting his marriage with Anne Boleyn, to make the clergy of England independent of the papacy. He proceeded in the work gradually; first causing himself to be declared, both by the parliament and the clergy, the only supreme head of the Church of England (1531); then procuring from the clergy a declaration of the unlawfulness of his marriage with Catherine; then appointing Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury (1532); then marrying Anne Boleyn (1533); and, finally, when the pope denounced

this marriage, annulling every vestige of papal authority in England, suppressing monasteries and religious houses, and seizing on their property (1535). His chief agent in these changes was Thomas Cromwell, afterwards Earl of Essex, a man of great energy and ability; but so absolute was royalty in England at that period, that neither the nation nor parliament made any resistance. A few men, indeed, the most illustrious of whom was Sir Thomas More, submitted to death rather than acknowledge the king's spiritual supremacy; but the majority of the nation were either Protestant at heart, or quite ready to give up all political connection with the Church of Rome, so long as they were permitted to retain the creed of that church. Henry himself desired nothing beyond such a reformation as would transfer the power of the pope in ecclesiastical matters into his own hands; and though this external reformation favoured the growth of the Reformed doctrines, and many clergymen of Protestant opinions were promoted to bishoprics and admitted to livings, yet during the remainder of Henry's reign, Papists and Protestants were alike sent to the scaffold by his ruthless policy—the former for denying the king's supremacy; the latter, for departing from what the king chose to account true theology. Henry, in short, was a furious and fickle despot, whose connection with the Reformation in England was but an accident of time. In 1536, he sent Anne Boleyn to the scaffold on a frivolous charge; the day after her execution, he married his third wife, Jane Seymour; and after her death, he married Anne of Cleves (1540), whom he divorced in six months. His minister Cromwell was sent to the scaffold in 1540; in the following year, Henry married his fifth wife, Catherine Howard. He beheaded her in 1542; and married his sixth wife, Catherine Parr, in 1543. It was a relief to the nation when this monarch died. During the latter years of his reign, having fallen under the influence of the bigoted Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, he was especially rigorous in his persecution of the Protestants.

63. The English Reformation, begun so singularly, and carried on so roughly under Henry VIII., was continued with better auspices under his son and successor, Edward

VI. (1547–1553). The young king, who had been educated in Protestant principles, favoured their dissemination; and various acts were passed of a Protestant tendency. Still, the Catholic influence in England was very powerful; and during the reign of Edward's successor, Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII. by his first wife, a violent reaction took place (1553–1558). Mary, like her husband, Philip II. of Spain, was a bigoted Catholic; and her reign was characterised by a systematic attempt to bring back England to the Catholic faith. The fanatical Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was her minister and instrument; under whose rule upwards of 300 persons were burnt at the stake for heresy. Among these victims were Archbishop Cranmer, and Bishops Latimer, Hooper, and Ridley. After the death of the 'Bloody Mary,' her half-sister, Elizabeth, ascended the English throne. The long reign of this able queen (1558–1603) was one of the most glorious in the annals of England —glorious for the assertion of the English power abroad, and for the completion of the English Reformation. A Protestant by education and by principle, Elizabeth yet proceeded gradually in her policy of reform. In 1559, the English parliament abolished anew the papal supremacy, declared the English sovereign the supreme head of the Catholic Church, and ordered the use of the Book of Common Prayer, which had been prepared during the reign of Edward VI. All the prelates, with one exception, refused to take the oath thus required; but so completely were the lower clergy Protestantised, that of 10,000 parish priests, only 200 followed the example of the bishops. In these circumstances, further progress was easy; and in 1563, the Thirty-nine Articles were drawn up by an ecclesiastical convocation, and the Protestant Church of England established on its present basis.

64. The gradual manner in which the English Reformation was effected, partly by the spread of Protestant views among the English people, and partly by the influence exerted over the national institutions by despotic monarchs, who conceived that it was their prerogative to mould even the creed of their subjects in conformity with their state-policy, gave to the Church of England a peculiar character, differing

from that of most Reformed churches. The hierarchical or episcpoal system of the Catholic Church was preserved, with the exception that, instead of the pope of Rome, the English sovereign became head of the church—the archbishop of Canterbury taking the first place among ecclesiastics. In the doctrine and ritual of the church, also, only as much change was made as was necessary to satisfy the demands of moderate Protestantism—the ritual being compiled from ancient Catholic forms, with the omission of what was inconsistent with Protestant views; while the Thirty-nine Articles were so framed as to allow clergymen of considerable varieties of opinion, from Calvinists on the one hand, to Lutherans on the other, to remain within the pale of the church. Still, there was a considerable body of the English people who were not satisfied with the extent of the Reformation, and who maintained that it fell short even of what had been attempted by the Wycliffian movement of the fourteenth century. These dissentients, who were most numerous among the middle classes, and in the large towns, formed the beginnings of that important body of the English community, which, under the various names of Puritans, Dissenters, or Nonconformists, has performed so notable a part in the subsequent history of England. During the reign of Elizabeth, her government steered a middle course, insisting on the recognition of the church established by law as the church of the nation, and persecuting alike those who 'deviated to the right or to the left.' Not a few Puritans, among whom the most celebrated was a preacher named John Penry, were brought to the scaffold for opposing episcopal government and the queen's ecclesiastical supremacy; and, on the other hand, many Jesuits and popish priests were executed under an act, passed in 1585, commanding all such persons to leave the country.

65. The Reformation in *Scotland* was very different from that of England. Under James V. (1513–1542), the Reformed doctrines had made great progress among all ranks in the small Scottish community; but it was not till the reign of his daughter, Mary, that the nation threw off its allegiance to the papacy. This princess, who was an

infant at the time of her father's death, was carried over to France by her mother's brothers, the Guises, where, as we have seen, she was espoused to the Dauphin, afterwards Francis II. During her absence, Scotland was governed for a time by Cardinal Beaton, a prelate who had exercised a powerful influence during her father's life. Beaton was a violent Catholic, and sedulous in his persecution of the Protestants. He was also unpopular generally in the kingdom, and in 1546 he was murdered at St Andrews by a party of his personal enemies, some of whom were Reformers. A civil war followed; the Catholic party, with the queen-dowager, Mary of Guise, at their head, calling in the aid of French forces, while the Reformers were assisted by the English. The presence of French troops in the country gave the Catholic party the supremacy, and Mary of Guise became regent of the kingdom in the name of her daughter. Though, like all her family, a bigoted Catholic, the regent found it necessary to pursue a policy of comparative toleration; and the adherents of the 'Congregation,' as the Scottish Protestants were called, continued for some years to increase in numbers. By the year 1559, they formed more than half of the entire Scottish population. Accordingly, when in this year the regent, changing her policy, began to persecute, the nation rose in insurrection. The soul of this movement was the famous John Knox. Born in 1505, and educated at St Andrews for the Romish Church, Knox had embraced the Reformed opinions as early as 1535, and had with difficulty escaped the fate of some other Scottish Protestants under the regency of Beaton. After Beaton's death, he had settled as a preacher at St Andrews, where his energy and eloquence gained him great influence. Taken prisoner on the capture of St Andrews by the French troops of Mary of Guise, he had been sent to France, from which, after nineteen months' confinement in the galleys, he escaped to England. Here he officiated as preacher for some time during the reign of Edward VI.; but on the accession of the Bloody Mary, he went abroad, and resided at Dieppe, Frankfort, and Geneva, at which last place he became acquainted with Calvin. He finally returned to Scotland

in 1559, and hastened to Perth, where there was great excitement in consequence of the regent's resolution to put certain preachers of the Congregation on their trial before the law-courts. It so chanced that, after a vehement sermon by Knox, an indiscreet priest enraged the people by proceeding to celebrate mass. A riot ensued; the people broke into the churches, destroyed the images, defaced the pictures and monuments, and overturned the altars. The insurrection spread; the regent assembled troops to put it down; and the lords of the Congregation, on their side, took arms in defence of Protestantism. Before any blood was shed, however, a treaty was agreed to, which left the Reformers the free exercise of their religion.

66. In 1560, the queen-regent died—an event favourable to the Reformers. In that year, the *Confession of Faith*, or statement of the articles of belief of the Scottish Reformers, was ratified by the Scotch parliament; while the constitution and polity of the Scottish Reformed Church was settled by the *Book of Discipline*, drawn up by Knox and his colleagues. The doctrines established as the basis of the Scottish Reformation were, in the main, the same as those adopted by the Church of England, but were more rigorously Calvinistic. The form of church-government, however, was entirely different from that of the Church of England, being framed on the Presbyterian model. Prelacy was abolished; all clergymen were declared to be of equal rank; and the administration of the church was vested in a regular series of courts, composed of clergymen and select laymen—the ecclesiastical affairs of each parish being managed by a kirk-session; those of each district or cluster of parishes, by a presbytery; those of each province, by a provincial synod; and those of the kingdom as a whole, by a general assembly. This more popular character of the Reformation in Scotland, as compared with that of England, has had a great influence on the subsequent relations of the two countries.

67. In 1561, the young Queen Mary returned to her native kingdom, which she had quitted when a child. Beautiful and accomplished, her education at the polished

court of France, where the Huguenots were held in detestation, had rendered her very unfit for the position which she was called to occupy, as the queen of a rough and turbulent people, the best and most influential men in which were stern Reformers, bred in the school of Calvin. Knox, who had, in the meantime, become one of the preachers of Edinburgh, was carrying on the Reformation with all the zeal of his character; and Mary and her Catholic household felt themselves like aliens in the midst of a Presbyterian population, who regarded the observances of the Catholic religion with abhorrence. The difference of religion, however, between the queen and her subjects might have been borne; but various other circumstances conspired to produce a rupture, and entail on Mary those misfortunes which have made her name so famous. In 1565, she had married her cousin, Lord Darnley, a foolish nobleman, who soon lost her affections. Darnley was murdered not long afterwards, under very mysterious circumstances, by the Earl of Bothwell, an ambitious and profligate nobleman, who aspired to be the husband of the queen. Mary herself was suspected of being privy to the murder; and when Bothwell, who had been tried for it, and acquitted, carried her off and married her, the nobles rose in indignation, and, after some fighting, made the queen prisoner, and compelled her to abdicate in favour of her infant son James (1567). After a year, Mary escaped from prison, and gathered her adherents, but was defeated, and compelled to seek refuge in England. Here, her cousin Elizabeth, who was jealous of her beauty, detained her in captivity.

68. During the reign of James VI., the son of Mary and Darnley (1567–1603), the Reformation in Scotland was firmly established—first, under the successive regents, who governed the kingdom during James's minority; and afterwards, under the more immediate rule of James himself. The Presbyterian clergy exercised immense influence over the government; and James, whose ideas of the royal authority were rather despotic, and whose preferences were for the Episcopalian form of church-government, often found himself in conflict with them. The final act establishing

Presbyterianism as the national religion of Scotland was passed in 1592; but various efforts were made by James, in subsequent years, to introduce Episcopal forms into the Scottish Church. Meanwhile, politically, the affairs of Scotland were in great confusion. James, a man of considerable literary attainments, but of no decision of character, was ruled by one favourite and one faction after another; and his whole reign was a series of brawls and conspiracies. His weakness of character was particularly shewn in his conduct with regard to his mother's detention in England. Nineteen years had elapsed since Mary, driven from her own kingdom, had sought refuge in England. Here, detained ever since, on various pretences, by her jealous cousin, she had languished in hopeless captivity —forgotten and uncared for by her Scottish subjects; and at length, on a frivolous charge of conspiring with some English Catholics against the life of Elizabeth, she was tried and executed (1587). James, who had sent ambassadors to England to interfere in his mother's behalf, blustered for a while under this insult; but the hope of succeeding to the English throne after the death of Elizabeth, induced him to refrain from any attempt at revenge.

69. At length, in 1603, the long-expected event happened, and the crowns of England and Scotland were united. James VI. of Scotland, thenceforward known as James I. of Great Britain, removed his court to the English metropolis, leaving the care of his native kingdom to its own turbulent parliament. The English nation over which he had been called to rule, was then at the height of its prosperity, and as orderly as it was prosperous. James, however, was an unworthy successor of Elizabeth. Surrounding himself with profligate favourites, he excited contempt by his indolent and pedantic habits, and by his attempts to assert the absoluteness of kingly rule. The free spirit of the English rebelled against his notions of the royal prerogative; and though no actual collision between the crown and the people occurred in his reign, the Puritan, and with it the popular element in English society, gained strength. In Scotland, his efforts to

supplant Presbyterianism by Episcopacy provoked deep discontent. In Ireland, his reign was signalised by the settlement of large numbers of English and Scottish immigrants, and by the subjection of the native Irish more completely than before to the English laws.

70. The reign of Charles I., the son and successor of James, was one of the most important, both in English and in Scottish history. Inheriting the despotic ideas of his father, but of a more morose and persevering temper, Charles had no sooner ascended the throne than he began to provoke the Commons of England by levying taxes without the assent of parliament—and the people of Scotland, by tampering with their Presbyterian institutions. At length, the disputes between the king and his subjects reached a crisis. An attempt made, in 1637, to introduce Episcopalian forms of worship by force into Scotland roused the Scotch to open insurrection; and in the following year, the famous *Covenant*, or agreement to defend the religious liberties of the nation, was signed by great numbers of the people, with many of the nobility at their head. This, and other circumstances, obliged Charles to summon his fourth English parliament—the celebrated *Long Parliament*—in 1640. This parliament, in which the popular and Puritan element was largely represented, prosecuted with great energy the work of reform in church and state. The king's chief advisers—the Earl of Strafford, and Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury—were brought to trial, and beheaded; and a formal act was passed for the abolition of Episcopacy in England. In 1642, Charles took the field; and for several years the nation was involved in a war between the two opposed parties of the Royalists and the Parliamentarians. Organised by the genius, and inspired by the enthusiasm of Oliver Cromwell, the Parliamentarian army proved the superior; and after various defeats, Charles I. was made prisoner (1647). The supreme power then remained in the hands of the army, which was composed chiefly of Puritans of the sect of the Independents—a sect more democratic in their views of church-polity than even the Presbyterians. In December 1648, Oliver Cromwell, as

the chief of the army and the leader of the Independent party in England, broke up the Long Parliament by force, as a body no longer capable of managing the affairs of the nation. Cromwell and his fellow-officers then assumed the government; and on the 30th of January 1649, Charles I. was beheaded at Whitehall, after having been publicly tried on a charge of treason and misrule.

71. VI. ITALY.—As before, the history of the Italian peninsula during the period under notice (1517–1648), resolves itself into three sections—the history of the various states of Northern Italy; that of the Papal States; and that of Naples and Sicily.

72. *Naples and Sicily.*—During the whole period in question, Naples and Sicily, otherwise called 'the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies,' continued to be governed by Spanish viceroys, as an integral part of the Spanish Empire. This portion of Italy, accordingly, possesses, during the whole of this period, no history separate from that of Spain. Subjected to a very oppressive system of rule, and to the worst horrors of the Spanish Inquisition, the populations of Southern Italy and Sicily sank into listless indolence, while the bolder spirits had no employment save in war and brigandage. At length, in 1647, during the viceroyalty of a Spanish nobleman, styled the Duke D'Arcos, the people of Naples were goaded to rebellion. A young fisherman, named Tommaso Aniello, or, by contraction, Masaniello, placed himself at the head of the market-people to resist the viceroy's tax-gatherers; and the riot became so formidable, that the viceroy was obliged to comply with the people's demands, abolish taxes, and acknowledge a native government, with Masaniello as its chief. For several days, the young fisherman was supreme in Naples; his sudden elevation, however, had unsettled his reason; and after various insane acts, he was shot by some of his followers. Naples relapsed under Spanish rule; but the insurrection of Masaniello was not without wholesome effects.

73. *The Papal States.*—Twenty popes sat on the throne of the Roman States between 1513 and 1648. The first four or five of these were occupied chiefly with the general

affairs of the church, and with the work of opposing the Reformation. Their efforts in this respect having been in vain, their successors found their spiritual authority as heads of the church greatly limited; and though still nominally the ecclesiastical lords of Catholic Christendom, they were in reality little more than temporal princes of Rome, connected by alliances and intrigues with other European sovereigns, and swayed, more especially in their Italian policy, by their relations with the court of Spain. Unable to cope with the Reformation in the wide field of Europe, they were obliged to be content with suppressing it in their own dominions. One of them, Paul IV. (1555–1560), organised the Inquisition afresh for this purpose, and also for the first time published an *Index Expurgatorius*, or list of heretical books, which his subjects were forbidden to read. Sixtus V. (1585–1590) was a man of ability and energy, who did much for the embellishment of Rome, and for the promotion of good order and industry throughout the Roman States. The only act of any pope of this period, however, possessing special importance in connection with the political history of the Italian peninsula, was one of Paul III., already mentioned as the pope who convened the Council of Trent. This pontiff, who was by no means the most moral of popes, had an illegitimate son, Piero Farnese; and in order to provide for him, he prevailed on the College of Cardinals, with the consent of Charles V., to detach *Parma and Piacenza* from the rest of the Papal States, and erect them into a separate duchy for Piero and his descendants. Thus (1545) was laid the foundation of a new Italian state. Piero, the first duke, was assassinated by his subjects; but his son regained the duchy, and bequeathed it to Alexander Farnese, the celebrated general of Philip II. of Spain in the Netherlands.

74. *The States of Northern Italy.*—At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Northern Italy was divided into a number of states, the chief of which were—the *Duchy of Milan*, held by the family of the Sforzas, and virtually comprehending the sovereignty of all Lombardy, together with Genoa; the *Republic of Florence*, still

nominally a republic, but governed by the Medicis; and the *Republic of Venice.* We have already seen how, for nearly half a century, in consequence of the rivalry of Charles V. and Francis I., Northern Italy, and especially Lombardy, became a battle-field on which the Imperialist and the French forces contended for the mastery; how the struggle terminated in the permanent acquisition of the duchy of Milan by the Imperialists; and how this duchy, together with the kingdom of the Sicilies, was transmitted, after the abdication of Charles V., to the Spanish branch of the House of Hapsburg. Accordingly, the main fact in the history of Northern Italy, during the period now under notice, is the predominance there, as elsewhere, of the Spanish power.

75. In the *Duchy of Milan,* including nearly all Lombardy, the Spaniards were absolute masters. Here, as in Naples, Spanish viceroys and Spanish officials governed the native Italians, and with the same rigour. Here, as in Naples, the people were impoverished by exactions, and persecuted by the Inquisition. A striking picture of the wretched condition of this part of Italy, under the administration of the Spanish viceroys, is given in a celebrated Italian historical novel—the *Promessi Sposi* of Manzoni. From this misrule, however, *Genoa,* though included in the duchy of Milan under the Sforzas, was fortunately exempt. During the wars of Charles V. and Francis I., a noble Genoese admiral, named Andrew Doria, had contrived, by rendering great services to the former, to win back for his native city its ancient independence. Driving out the French, who had taken possession of it, he organised a new republican government, consisting of a senate chosen from a certain number of the aristocratic families of Genoa, and of a doge, holding office for ten years as the chief-magistrate (1528). This constitution, in spite of some attempts made to subvert it, both by a democratic party among the Genoese themselves, and by enemies from without, continued in force long after Doria's death in 1560; and while the Milanese were languishing under Spanish despotism, the Genoese, happier in their independence, regained some of their former commercial prosperity.

76. The fortunes of the *Republic of Florence* were considerably affected by the struggle between Charles V. and Francis I. The Medicis, like the other princes of Italy, were obliged by their position to take part in the struggle on the one side or on the other; and as we saw (§ 19), the Florentines were engaged in the league formed in 1526 by Pope Clement VII., who was himself a scion of the House of Medici, against the emperor. The Florentines, however, were continually engaged in disputes with the Medicis; and in 1527, at the very time when Pope Clement was besieged in Rome by the imperialist troops, his relative, Alexander de' Medici, was expelled from Florence. When the pope and the emperor became reconciled, the pope stipulated that the Medicis should be re-established in their native city. Accordingly, in 1530, Charles compelled the Florentines to take back Alexander as the governor of their republic, with the right of transmitting the dignity in direct line to his descendants. Alexander, who was one of the worst and least able of his family, was abhorred by his subjects, and was murdered by one of his relatives in 1537. He was succeeded by Cosmo de' Medici, a man of far greater talent, who—after ruling in Florence for some time with the mere title of governor-general, and with a certain understood subserviency to the emperor and to Philip II. of Spain—was in 1565 invested by the pope with the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany, and with all the dignities of royalty. Accordingly, from that time we hear no more of the Florentine Republic in Italian history, but only of the *Grand Duchy of Tuscany*. In this duchy were included the territories attached to the city of Siena. Cosmo's successors—Francis I. (1574–1587), Ferdinand I. (1587–1609), Cosmo II. (1609–1621), and Ferdinand II. (1621–1670)—did much to improve the condition of Tuscany, and were diligent patrons of the arts. In the reign of Ferdinand I., Leghorn first attained its consequence as a commercial emporium.

77. From the beginning of the sixteenth century, dates the decline of the famous *Republic of Venice*. At the close of the fifteenth century, this republic was one of the most formidable of the European powers, commanding all the

commerce of the East, and possessing not only considerable territories in Italy, but numerous colonies and settlements in Greece, the Archipelago, and the Levant. One cause of its rapid decline was the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape, and the consequent competition of the Portuguese for the commerce of the East. It was in vain that the Venetians attempted to throw obstacles in the way of the Portuguese; the Eastern trade fell into the hands of Portuguese merchants; and Lisbon took the place hitherto occupied in commerce by Venice. While suffering under this change of fortune, the Venetians, by their connection with Charles V., were dragged into a war with the Turks, in the course of which they lost fourteen islands in the Archipelago—all their settlements in Greece (1540). Their greatest loss, however, was the island of Cyprus, which the Turks took possession of by surprise in 1570. From this period, Venice was little more than a second-rate Italian state, obliged to intrigue with all the surrounding powers in order to preserve its independence. The great power of Spain, which overshadowed all Italy, was regarded with fear by the jealous Venetians, whose policy it was to maintain the balance of power in the peninsula by admitting the French influence as a counterpoise. In the year 1618, a plot was organised by Bedmar, the Spanish ambassador at Venice, for the overthrow of the republic by the massacre of the doge and the senate: the plot, however, was discovered; many of the conspirators were executed; and Bedmar was sent away from Venice. In 1645, the Venetians engaged in another war with the Turks.

78. Contemporaneous with the decline of Venice, was the rise of a new power in Northern Italy, that of the *Dukes of Savoy and Piedmont.* The House of Savoy traces its pedigree back to the eleventh century, when a Germanic family, which had settled in the Alpine district which divides France from Italy, began to distinguish itself among the numerous feudal houses of that part of Europe. A long line of able princes of this house consolidated and increased its possessions; so that, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Charles III., Duke of Savoy (1503–1553), was able to take part as

an independent potentate in the wars between Francis I. and Charles V. The wars of this prince with the Swiss and with the French, lost him a great part of his dominions; but his son Emanuel Philibert (1553–1580) regained what had been lost, and fixing upon Turin as his capital, laid the foundations of a great military state, extending from Switzerland on the north, to the Gulf of Genoa on the south. This state, subsequently known as the state of Savoy and Piedmont, he bequeathed to his successors, Charles Emanuel I. (1580–1630), Victor Amadeus I. (1630–1637), and Charles Emanuel II. (1637–1675), during whose reigns Piedmont was a continual battle-field between the French and the Spaniards.

79. VII. POLAND.—We left this kingdom (see Medieval History, § 313) under the rule of Sigismund I. (1507–1548). During his reign and that of his successor, Sigismund II. (1548–1572), the Reformed doctrines spread with great rapidity throughout Poland; Sigismund II. openly embraced them, along with nearly all the Polish nobility. Meanwhile, owing to its wretched constitution, and its incessant wars with Russia and with the Turks, the kingdom remained in other respects far in the rear of the general progress; and on the death of Sigismund II. without issue—by which event the Jagellon dynasty became extinct—it was plunged into a new series of miseries, arising from the struggles of different candidates for the crown. After a stormy interregnum, the diet chose Henry of Anjou, the brother of the French king, on whose accession to the French crown (1576), Stephen Battori, Prince of Transylvania, was elected (1576–1587). The reign of Battori was able and energetic; but during that of his successor, Sigismund III., crown-prince of Sweden (1587–1632), Poland was all but ruined by the systematic efforts of the king to suppress Protestantism and restore the Catholic faith. In this reign, Jesuits swarmed in Poland, and Protestantism became nearly extinct. The country was also involved in wars with Russia and Sweden, which were only terminated by the skill of Uladislav VI. (1632–1648), the successor of Sigismund.

80. VIII. RUSSIA.—Ivan or John IV., surnamed

the Terrible, on account of the ferocity of his character, was the first prince of the Muscovite line who exchanged the ancient title of grand-prince for that of *czar*. His reign (1533–1584) was marked by various events of considerable importance in the history of Russia—the institution of the *Strelitzes*, or first regular army of Russia; the promulgation of the first regular code of Russian laws; the importation of printing and other useful arts from Germany; the opening of a trade with England through Archangel; the acquisition of the Don Cossack country, and of the vast tract of Siberia; and a long warfare with Sweden and Poland for the possession of Livonia and other Baltic provinces. But though Ivan's reign was one of aggrandisement and improvement for Russia, the ferocities in which he indulged in the gratification of his passion for blood were such, that the Russians welcomed his death as a deliverance. His son and successor Feodor (1584–1598), was a prince of imbecile character; and during his reign, the government was exercised by a Russian nobleman, named Boris Goudenoff. On the death of Feodor, the line of the ancient Scandinavian Rurik was extinct; and Boris was elected czar by the nobles and clergy. He had reigned but a few years, when there appeared in Russia, no one knew from what quarter, a new candidate for the throne, in the person of a certain adventurer naming himself Demetrius, and pretending to be a younger brother of Feodor, who, instead of having been assassinated in infancy, as was generally supposed, had been carried out of Russia, and educated at a distance. The adventurer being a man of ability, and being supported by the Polish King Sigismund III., his story was believed; the Russians, tired of the despotic rule of Boris, flocked in thousands to the standard of the supposed Demetrius; Boris was defeated and slain; and the impostor was crowned at Moscow. He reigned for a year with much talent, but was killed in his palace by a conspiracy of the Boyards (1606). To this day, the story of the 'false Demetrius' is an unexplained mystery. It is absolutely certain that the adventurer was not, as he pretended

to be, a son of Ivan the Terrible; but there is no clue to his real origin and purposes. It has been supposed by some, that he was a youth trained for the extraordinary part he performed by the Jesuits of Poland, who hoped in this manner to revolutionise Russia and destroy the Greek Church. This supposition, however, is too absurd to be tenable. Suffice it to say, that Demetrius performed his part so successfully, that other impostors attempted to repeat it. Russia was for some years a prey to anarchy and foreign influence, when at length (1613) a national party was formed by some brave men of Moscow, the Poles and other foreigners were expelled, and a young Russian nobleman, named Michael Romanoff, related by blood to the ancient line of Rurik, was called to the throne. With the accession of the dynasty of Romanoff, commences a new era in Russian history.

81. IX. THE SCANDINAVIAN KINGDOMS.—The union of the three Scandinavian kingdoms into one monarchy, arranged by the Treaty of Calmar in 1397 (see Medieval History, § 317), and again, after some cessation, renewed at the close of the fifteenth century, was permanently broken during the reign of Christian II. (1513–1522). This king inherited from his father the three kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; and had he ruled with ordinary prudence, might have transmitted Scandinavia as one great monarchy to his successors. The Swedes, however, who had always been opposed to the union, were driven into rebellion by the misrulé of Christian. The king triumphed over the Swedish patriots, and entering Stockholm, caused himself to be crowned there. A signal act of cruelty which followed this ceremony, occasioned a new rebellion. Violating an amnesty which he had signed, Christian caused ninety-four of the most important and patriotic men in Sweden to be arrested and beheaded at Stockholm. Roused by this massacre, the Swedes flew to arms. A young Swede, named Gustavus Vasa, the son of one of the murdered patriots, had escaped to Dalecarlia, where, after living some time among the sturdy miners of the district, he announced his resolution to be the liberator of his country. The

Dalecarlians and others gathered round the bold youth, and after a few victories, the independence of Sweden was achieved. Gustavus was chosen regent, and afterwards (1523) raised to the throne of the emancipated kingdom. Meanwhile the Danes, disgusted with the excesses and cruelties of Christian, had (1522) deposed him, and elected as his successor his uncle Frederick, Duke of Holstein. Thus the Scandinavian countries were divided into two kingdoms—the kingdom of Denmark and Norway, and the kingdom of Sweden. This arrangement continued till the year 1815.

82. *Denmark and Norway.*—The reign of Frederick I. (1522–1533) was distinguished by the introduction of the Reformation into Denmark. The king, who was one of the first potentates in Europe to embrace Luther's doctrines, employed an eloquent preacher named Tausen, and other disciples of Luther, to propagate these doctrines throughout Denmark. In 1527, at a diet at Odensee, he publicly professed Protestantism himself, and passed an edict granting liberty of conscience to his subjects, and authorising monks and nuns to marry. In 1530, at another diet held at Copenhagen, he ratified a Protestant Confession of Faith, drawn up for Denmark on the model of that of Augsburg. These measures were strongly opposed by the Danish bishops; and it was not till the reign of Christian III., the successor of Frederick (1533–1559), that Protestantism was fairly established in Denmark. This prince caused the refractory prelates to be arrested; and having convened a meeting of the Estates at Copenhagen, he abolished Episcopacy, suppressed the public exercise of the Catholic religion, and confiscated the vast property of the Catholic Church, annexing part of it to the crown, and appropriating the remainder to the support of the parochial clergy and of public schools. The people were allowed to choose their own pastors, and the bishops were replaced by superintendents nominated by the king. The change was popular in Denmark, and extended itself easily into Norway. The successors of Christian III.—Frederick II. (1559–1588) and Christian IV. (1588–1648)—trod in his footsteps. The

long reign of Christian IV. was one of great prosperity, both for Denmark and Norway. The industry and manufactures of both countries flourished; scientific and educational institutions were founded or enlarged; and the Danes extended their commerce as far as India. The first Danish East India Company was formed in 1616, and this company soon obtained a settlement on the Coromandel Coast.

83. *Sweden.*—Gustavus Vasa (1523–1560) added the title of restorer to that of liberator of his country. 'Everything under him,' says a historian, 'assumed a new aspect—the government, the religion, the commerce, the finances, the agriculture, the sciences, the morals of the Swedes.' Instead of the old diets of the nobles, by which the affairs of Sweden had been till then managed, he established a legislative body of a more popular character, in which the townsmen and the peasantry were represented, as well as the nobles and clergy. He also introduced the Reformation into Sweden. The greater nobles and the prelates were strongly averse to it, and it was not till the king had shewn his determination by abdicating, and thus rousing the mass of the people to take his part, that the change was effected. The diet having implored him to resume the crown, he consented, on the condition of being allowed thoroughly to reform the Swedish Church. The reform, as in other countries, involved the confiscation and redistribution of the church-property, the breaking up of the convents, and the subjection of the prelates to the ordinary authority of the state. During the latter part of the reign of Gustavus, Sweden, prosperous and powerful within, began to form diplomatic connections with the great continental powers, and to be visited by intelligent foreigners, who introduced into it arts till then unknown. To secure a continuance of such enlightened rule, the Swedes settled the crown upon the descendants of Vasa. His son Eric, however (1560–1568), proved a gloomy and ferocious tyrant; he became insane, and was deposed in favour of his brother, John III., who afterwards put him to death. The reign of John (1568–1592) was distinguished by a reaction in favour of Catholicism. Having

married a Polish princess, he not only became himself a recreant from the Lutheranism he had inherited from his father, but endeavoured to restore a modified Catholicism among his subjects. He was opposed by a powerful party, at the head of which was his brother Charles, Duke of Sudermania; and during the latter part of his reign, Lutheranism was in the ascendant. His son and successor Sigismund, however—who had already been elected to the throne of Poland, in virtue of his being a Pole by the mother's side—was far more resolute in his efforts to restore Catholicism. Successful in suppressing the Reformation in Poland, he did not doubt of equal success in Sweden. The Swedes, however, resisted; and after a protracted civil war, during which Sigismund employed Polish armies, they set aside Sigismund, and chose his uncle Charles IX. (1604). Sigismund was thus driven back into Poland, and a war ensued between the two countries, which lasted for many years, and in which Russia was also involved. In spite of all the exertions of Sigismund, Charles kept possession of his throne, which he bequeathed to his son, the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus (1608–1632). During the reign of this great man, Sweden attained its highest prosperity. The Swedish arms were victorious against both Poland and Russia; and aided by his able minister, Oxenstiern, Gustavus prosecuted with great activity the work of internal reformation which had been begun by his grandfather, the first Gustavus. But it is not merely as one of the best and most valiant of Swedish kings that Gustavus Adolphus is remembered in history; he is remembered also as one of the heroes of a great movement affecting the liberties of all Europe. This movement is known by the name of the *Thirty Years' War*.

84. Before the close of the sixteenth century, the Reformation had spread over all Europe. Protestantism in one or other of its forms had been established in England, Scotland, the United Provinces, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; in Germany and in Switzerland, the Catholics and Protestants were pretty equally divided; in France, Catholicism remained the religion of the state,

but the Protestants were numerous; there were not a few Protestants in Poland; and only in Spain, Portugal, and Italy, had the germs of the Reformation been entirely trampled out. But though Protestantism and Catholicism had thus adjusted themselves on the map of Europe in very much the same geographical proportions which they yet retain, the battle between them was by no means terminated. On the one hand, Protestantism was still fresh and active, its two divisions of Lutheranism and Calvinism not only retaining their own vigour, but also giving birth to fresh sects even more enthusiastically Protestant than themselves. On the other hand, Catholicism, into which Jesuitism had breathed a new energy, was prepared to maintain its ground resolutely in the countries where it still had sway, and did not despair even of reconquering what it had lost. All European society was thus charged throughout with two hostile elements, each bent on encroaching on the other; and a great struggle between them was evidently at hand.

85. Germany became the scene of this struggle. Divided as it was into numerous states of different dimensions, some of which had embraced Protestantism and others Catholicism, while in not a few the Protestants and Catholics were about equally balanced, there was no part of Europe where the religious controversy raged so fiercely, or was so intimately mixed up with ordinary politics as in Germany. The Emperors Ferdinand I. (1556–1564) and Maximilian II. (1564–1576) had, on the whole, pursued a policy of toleration which prevented the outbreak of actual hostilities; but their successor Rudolf II. (1576–1612) was bigoted and intolerant. In his own Austrian dominions, including Hungary and Bohemia, he made every effort to suppress Protestantism; and, as emperor, he favoured similar efforts on the part of the sovereigns of the minor Catholic states. The consequence was, that the Protestants of Germany formed a union in defence of their liberties, and entered into an alliance with Henry IV. of France, who, though he had renounced Protestantism himself, was regarded as the champion of religious freedom. At the very time of Henry's death

(1610), he was preparing to invade Germany in behalf of the Protestants. Meanwhile, the Hungarians and Bohemians had risen in revolt against Rudolf, and chosen his brother Mathias as their king. Mathias for a time favoured the Protestants; but being elected to the empire after his brother's death (1612–1619), he began to follow the usual despotic course of the Hapsburgs. The consequences of his persecuting policy first shewed themselves in Bohemia, the crown of which, with that of Hungary, he had made over to his cousin Ferdinand, Duke of Styria. In May 1618, the Protestants of Bohemia, consisting of Lutherans, Calvinists, and the relics of the old Hussite reformers, rose in arms at a preconcerted signal; and soon all Germany was involved in a civil war. Mathias died before the war had well begun, bequeathing it as an inheritance to his successor, Ferdinand II. (1619–1637). It was in vain that Ferdinand tried to pacify his Bohemian subjects by certain concessions: they remained in arms; and to shew their antipathy to the rule of the House of Hapsburg, they renounced allegiance to Ferdinand, and conferred the crown of Bohemia on Frederick V., Elector-Palatine, who was at that time the leading Protestant prince in Germany. Frederick, who had married Elizabeth, the daughter of James I. of England, was advised by his father-in-law to refuse a crown offered to him in such circumstances, and which could only be retained at the expense of a protracted warfare; but the advice was not followed.

86. The *Thirty Years' War* (1618–1648) divides itself into several distinct wars, one growing out of the other. In the first place, the elector-palatine, supported by the Bohemians, by a large section of the Protestants of Germany, and by British and Dutch auxiliaries, carried on a war against the emperor, supported by the German Catholic princes and by the king of Spain. The Catholics were successful in this war; and the elector, after a great defeat at Prague (1620), was deprived of all his dominions, and placed, with his adherents, under the ban of the empire. A second war broke out in 1625, when Christian IV., king of Denmark, placed himself at the head of the

Protestants of Germany, with the intention of redressing their wrongs and restoring Frederick to the palatinate. This war was likewise unsuccessful on the part of the Protestants, the Catholic armies being led by two generals of distinguished ability—the famous Count Tilly, and the still more famous Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland. In 1629, the Danish king was driven into his own dominions, and obliged to sue for peace. The emperor, elated with his victory, began a crusade against the Protestants of Germany, beginning with those of Bohemia. Many of the leading men of Bohemia were executed; hundreds of Bohemian families were exiled; and the Catholic worship was restored in the Bohemian territory. The emperor's designs, however, extended beyond Bohemia. He aimed at the reduction of all the German princes to the same position as the nobles of other countries; and, as a step to the accomplishment of this, he ordered the restoration of all the church-lands that had been seized by laymen subsequently to the Treaty of Passau. Even the Catholics, many of whom had shared in the distribution of the church-lands, resisted this decree, and began to be alarmed at the immense power which the House of Austria was assuming in the empire, under the pretence of zeal for the restoration of the Catholic Church. Meanwhile, the Protestants, looking abroad over Europe for a champion to take up their sinking cause, had cast their eyes on Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, who had already won a European reputation by his wars against the Poles and the Russians, and his able conduct as a Swedish king. Gustavus was prompted to undertake the championship of German Protestantism (1630), partly by political motives, and partly by real enthusiasm on behalf of the Protestant faith. He was also incited to the enterprise by Cardinal Richelieu, who, though himself a Catholic, was very ready to support Protestantism in Germany, as a means of humbling the power of Austria. Thousands of Protestants from England, Scotland, and the Netherlands likewise joined the standard of Gustavus. The valour of the Swedish troops and these auxiliaries, and the able generalship of Gustavus, made the war a series of triumphs

for the Protestants. Germany was overrun; Tilly was slain in battle; and the Swedes entered Munich. Wallenstein was now placed at the head of the imperialist forces. A great battle was fought between him and Gustavus at Lutzen on the 6th of November 1632, in which the Swedes were victorious, though at the expense of the life of their heroic king. The death of Gustavus was a great blow to the Protestant cause, but the fruits of his victories remained. The Swedish and the French troops continued to fight under other leaders; and in order to oppose them, the emperor was obliged to make separate terms with the German Protestants (1635). The war, however, was not even then brought to an end. Ferdinand II. died in 1637; and during the first years of the reign of his successor, Ferdinand III. (1637–1658), French armies under such able generals as Turenne and the Duke d'Enghien, and Swedish and mixed armies under Vrangel, Banier, and other officers trained in the camp of Gustavus Adolphus, prolonged the struggle, which had now ceased to be one of religion. At length, after the emperor had been reduced to great extremities, negotiations were begun, which terminated in the famous Peace of Westphalia, also called the Treaty of Munster, arranged by French, German, and Swedish plenipotentiaries (1648).

87. The Peace of Westphalia constitutes an epoch in the annals of Europe. It put an end to the religious controversy which had so long raged in Germany, by guaranteeing religious liberty, settling the relative interests of Catholics and Protestants in the general affairs of the empire, and defining the rights of every prince and state in the matter of religion. It also defined more exactly than before the political constitution of the empire, giving to each prince the right of making separate alliances, offensive and defensive, with foreign states, and making each almost independent over his own subjects, the emperor remaining only as the director of the general affairs of the German confederacy. It created an eighth electorate, in favour of the son of the unfortunate Frederick V., Elector-Palatine, whose former electorate had been given to the House of Bavaria. But the

provisions of the peace extended beyond the bounds of the empire. It recognised, for the first time, the existence of Switzerland and the United Provinces of the Netherlands as independent European states; and it ceded certain portions of the German Empire to France, and certain others to Sweden, on different conditions. From this period, accordingly, the boundaries of the main European states have been well defined; and one of the leading notions of statesmen has been that of maintaining these boundaries, or of so modifying them as still to preserve what is called 'the balance of power,' or the equilibrium of the political divisions of Europe.

88. Before closing this chapter, it is necessary to glance at the condition of the East, which we left at the beginning of the preceding century (see Medieval History, § 346), divided into four contiguous empires—that of the *Ottoman-Turks;* that of the *Persians* of the Sophi dynasty; that of *India*, called incorrectly the Empire of the Great Mogul; and that of *China*, under the Ming emperors. (1.) THE TURKISH EMPIRE.—Soliman I., surnamed the Magnificent, the son of Selim I. (1520–1566), was one of the greatest of the Turkish sultans. During his reign, the conquests of the Turks still continued. They overran Hungary, taking Belgrade and other fortresses; they captured the island of Rhodes, after an obstinate defence by the Knights of St John; and they advanced along the African coast as far as Tunis, where Barbarossa, the famous pirate-chief, acted as a kind of lieutenant of the sultan. It required all the ability of Charles V., and all the prowess of the German Empire, aided by the Venetians and other European powers, to arrest the westward progress of so fierce and formidable an enemy. The Ottoman Empire, however, had now attained its climax; and during the reigns of Soliman's successors—Selim II. (1566–1574), Amurath III. (1574–1595), Mohammed III. (1595–1604), Ahmed I. (1604–1617), Mustapha (1617–1624), and Amurath IV. (1617–1640)—its course was one of obvious but slow decline. Still, it is true, the Turks continued to invade Germany, and Hungary continued to be a battle-

field on which Turkish and Christian armies fought; and still Turkish fleets sailed along the Mediterranean, the terror of European commerce. But no new conquests were made, and the Turks, driven back again and again within the limits of their own empire, began to lose their fanaticism, and become sensual and enervated. The sultans were the nominal lords of the empire, but its real masters were the turbulent Janizaries. (2.) PERSIA.—Seven successive sovereigns of the Sophi dynasty ruled over Persia between 1504 and 1648. Their reigns, however, were but a series of wars against the Turks on the one side, and the Tatars and Indians on the other, and present few facts of any interest in general history. (3.) INDIA.—Of the successors of Baber, the founder of the Mogul Empire in India, the most celebrated was Akbar (1556–1605). Under him, the empire assumed a regular organisation. It was divided into *soubahs*, or provinces, each governed by a Mohammedan viceroy, responsible to the court of Delhi. Akbar was also a patron of the arts and of literature; and his reign is further distinguished by the fact, that during it the Portuguese, the Danes, the Dutch, the English, and other European nations, first obtained a footing in India. Under his immediate successors, the empire was disturbed by insurrections of the Rajpoots, and other Indian populations and tribes; the *soubadars*, also, though still acknowledging the authority of the emperors of Delhi, began to wield an almost independent power. (4.) CHINA.—The only event of importance in Chinese history during the period under notice, was the invasion of China by the Mantchoos or Tatars from the north, who, after a bloody war, obtained possession of the country (1644), set aside the Ming dynasty, and established the Mantchoo or Tatar dynasty, which still rules.

WARS OF THE BALANCE OF POWER.

1648-1789 A.D.

89. The period on which we now enter extends from the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, to the commencement of the French Revolution in 1789. This period, however, subdivides itself into two nearly equal parts—the first ending in 1713, when another important European treaty, called 'the Peace of Utrecht,' was concluded; the second, extending thence to 1789. The general history of Europe during the first of these periods will be best exhibited in connection with the life of one great European monarch, whose long reign extended over the whole of it. This was Louis XIV. of France, otherwise called Louis *Le Grand*, or *Le Grand Monarque* (1643–1715).

90. For upwards of two centuries, France had been struggling for the chief place among the nations of Europe. This place she would have perhaps attained much sooner, but for that concurrence of circumstances which had conferred such vast territorial power on the Austrian House of Hapsburg. We have already seen how, at the very time when the power of this house was at its highest, France had ventured to contend with it, by carrying on a war with the Emperor Charles V. for the possession of Northern Italy. Notwithstanding the gallantry and ability of the French king, Francis I., this war had ended, as we have seen, in the triumph of his Austrian rival. When the great empire of Charles V., however, was separated into two (1556)—Spain with its dependencies going to one branch of the Hapsburg line, and Austria with the elective dignity of the German Empire falling to another branch of the same line—France was again able to renew her efforts for political ascendancy among the continental powers.

Placed, as it were, between the Spanish and the Austrian Hapsburgs, she made it her systematic policy to humble both, that she might rise at their expense. Her efforts were for a while greatly retarded by the religious dissensions by which she was herself torn during the intolerant reigns of Francis II., Charles IX., and Henry III. (1559–1589). Disordered by civil wars, and having a large portion of her best and ablest inhabitants, the Huguenots, alienated from the government by the cruel persecutions to which they were subjected, France had fallen during these reigns into a very low condition. The accession of Henry IV. restored her drooping fortunes. Under the able administration of that king and his counsellor Sully, the finances and the entire social condition of the kingdom rapidly improved; and before his death, in 1610, he was able, as we have seen, to claim for France a right of interfering, as a predominant power, with the affairs both of Germany and Spain. The full accomplishment of what he had begun, however, was left to Cardinal Richelieu, the minister and virtual sovereign of France during the reign of his son and successor, Louis XIII. (1610–1643). Consolidating France into a compact and centralised monarchy, by breaking down whatever faction, Catholic or Huguenot, could contest the power of the sovereign or his minister, Richelieu had sedulously conducted the foreign policy of France so as to use every means of weakening Spain and Austria. The habitual intolerance of the Spanish government, on the one hand, and the religious disturbances of Germany on the other, rendered his task easier; and Richelieu's influence had been abundantly felt both in the war of the Netherlands and in that of the Thirty Years. Indeed, after the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the conduct of the last war had devolved almost entirely on the French minister. The Peace of Westphalia, however, by which this war was concluded so much to the advantage of France, was not the work of Richelieu. Both he and his master, Louis XIII., died several years before that event. But Richelieu, whose single thought was the aggrandisement of France, had taken care to provide a statesman qualified to carry out his policy after he should be himself

dead. This was the Cardinal Mazarin, an Italian by birth, whom he had trained in his service. On his death-bed, Richelieu, congratulating himself on having left France at the highest pitch of glory, recommended Mazarin to Louis XIII. as the fittest man to be his successor; and when Louis himself died, a few months after, his widow, Anne of Austria, daughter of Philip II. of Spain, notwithstanding that she and Richelieu had been at continual enmity, continued Mazarin in office as minister during her regency and the minority of her son Louis XIV., then only five years old (1643). The result justified the discernment of Richelieu and the choice of Anne. Without possessing the magnanimity or the genius of Richelieu, Mazarin was one of the subtlest statesmen of his time; and he it was that negotiated the Peace of Westphalia on the part of France, securing for that country the possession of Alsace and other extensions of territory.

91. Spain was not a party to the Treaty of Westphalia, and, accordingly, the war between that country and France was continued for several years longer. The scene of this war was the Spanish Netherlands, or that part of the Netherlands which remained subject to Spain, after the erection of the seven northern provinces into an independent state. Here Marshal Turenne, and other French generals of distinction, displayed their skill against the Spanish generals of Philip IV. While the war was yet going on, however, a civil war broke out in France, which aided for some time the cause of the Spaniards. This war, called in French history the 'War of the Frondeurs'—that is, 'the War of the Jeerers'—commenced in 1649. It originated in an opposition begun by the parliament of Paris and a party of the French nobles to the authority of Cardinal Mazarin; and though the weapons of the insurgents at first were chiefly those of wit and ridicule, the conflict at last became formidable. Among the 'Frondeurs' were Turenne, the Prince of Condé, the Cardinal de Retz, and many ladies. While making war against Mazarin, they professed their allegiance to the crown. At length, after various turns of fortune, sometimes in favour of Mazarin, and sometimes in favour of the Fronde, peace was restored in 1653,

when the king was declared to be of age. Mazarin, who had been driven from Paris, resumed the ministry; the war with Spain was prosecuted with fresh vigour, Louis himself making a campaign in Flanders (1654); and after various successes on the part of the French, the great victory of Dunes, gained by Turenne, obliged the Spaniards to conclude a peace. A treaty was arranged (1659), by which Spain ceded to France Artois, Roussillon, part of Flanders, Hainault, and Luxembourg; while Louis accepted the Spanish king's daughter, the Infanta Maria-Theresa, as his wife.

92. While thus increasing his master's power at the expense of Spain by force of arms, Mazarin had almost accomplished by diplomacy a still higher object—the elevation of his master to the throne of Germany. The Emperor Ferdinand III. died in 1657, and as there was a considerable feeling in Germany against the election of a new emperor of that Austrian line from which the liberties of the empire had suffered so much, Mazarin put forward the young French king as a candidate, and intrigued in his favour with the electors; he even bribed them with large sums of money. The electors took the money; but, after some delay, agreed to elect Leopold of Austria, the son of Ferdinand III. (1658–1705). Accordingly, Leopold and Louis were all their lives bitter personal enemies.

93. Mazarin died in 1661; and from that time, Louis XIV. exercised the government himself. He was then only twenty-three years of age; but he had already conceived that scheme of absolute monarchical power which for more than half a century he maintained and carried out. Louis XIV. was the type of an absolute king; he was essentially the Grand Monarque, or Great Monarch, of his age. Haughty, stately, surrounded by courtiers whose places and duties at every hour of the day were determined by fixed rules of etiquette, and who made obeisance to the king as to a god; preserving, even in his vices, a certain gravity, and decorum, and reserve, Louis XIV., though not, in the highest sense, a great man, was undoubtedly one of those men who owe

their historical position to the force of their own character. He was precisely such a ruler as France required after Richelieu and Mazarin—a man who, besides being a king, could assume, like a theatrical performer, the port and gesture of a king. In his language, his dress, and all his habits, he carefully impressed the fact, that he stood alone in the nation—himself the king; all others his subjects. '*L'état, c'est moi*'—'I myself constitute the state'—was one of his favourite sayings; and among his writings after his death was found the following definition by himself of the rights and duties of the kingly office:—'All that is found in the extent of our dominions, of whatsoever nature it be, belongs to us. The moneys in our treasury, as well as those which are in the hands of receivers and collectors, and those which we leave in the hands of our subjects for purposes of trade, are all alike under our care. Kings are absolute lords, and have the full and entire disposal of all property, whether in the possession of the clergy or of laymen; and may use the same at all times as wise economists. The lives of their subjects are also their property; and they ought to be careful and sparing of them. He who has given kings to men, has ordered them to be respected as His lieutenants, reserving to Himself alone the right of examining their conduct. It is His will, that whoever is born a subject, should obey without reservation. The essential defect of the monarchy of England is, that the king cannot raise men or money without the parliament, nor consult the parliament without lessening his own authority.' The entire life of Louis was a practical illustration of these opinions. Employing able ministers, the most famous of whom was the finance-minister Colbert—an able and honest man, whom Mazarin had taken into the state-service, and to whose administration France was deeply indebted for twenty-two years (1661–1683)—he yet made his own will supreme over the length and breadth of France. After the death of Mazarin, it was observed that he never employed an ecclesiastic among his ministers.

94. Among the first who experienced the despotic

rigour of Louis XIV., were the nobles. Their power had been pretty efficiently crushed by Richelieu and Mazarin; but they still retained some authority, which they contrived to exercise through the medium of the parliaments, and especially through the parliament of Paris. Louis, who remembered with bitterness the insults to which he had been subjected by the nobles of the Fronde in his boyhood, shewed his resolution to abridge this authority. In 1655, when only seventeen years of age, he entered the parliament of Paris on one occasion booted and spurred, and ordered the president to stop a discussion which was going on respecting a royal edict. A few years later, he commanded the same parliament to abstain from all comments on his edicts until eight days after they had registered them, when they might remonstrate by writing. From that time forward, the parliaments became mere judicial bodies and courts of register for the royal decrees.

95. Though Louis systematically humbled the nobles, it was not with any design to elevate the commons at their expense. On the contrary, he looked with extreme contempt on all who belonged to the Tiers Etat, or Third Estate; he uniformly spoke of shopkeepers and mechanics as beings of an inferior race; and during no period of French history was what is called high birth held in greater value than during his reign. Severe laws were passed against any who, being of low birth, should dare to challenge their social superiors to duel; and against all who, being of high birth, should so far forget their rank as to fight with burghers or boors. In short, all France was regarded as concentrated in the king's court, into the sacred precincts of which none but persons of noble birth could be admitted. The only exception was in the case of wits, poets, and literary men, who were supposed, by the privilege of their genius, to be admissible into the king's presence and the society of his courtiers. Persons of plebeian birth could not hold commissions in the army.

96. Louis was no friend to Protestantism. He disliked the Huguenots as religious sectaries; he disliked them

still more as men whose political opinions might lead them to be refractory subjects to an arbitrary monarch. Accordingly, he circumscribed by repeated edicts the privileges accorded by his predecessors to the Calvinists of France. He forbade them to hold general synods; and he systematically excluded them from public offices. In 1684, he sent bodies of dragoons into the districts where the Calvinists were most numerous, ostensibly to preserve order, but in reality to terrify and persecute the peasantry. The horrors of these *dragonnades*, as they were called, were long remembered in the southern and eastern districts of France. At length, in 1685, finding all his previous attacks upon Calvinism to have failed, Louis, by the advice of the Jesuits who surrounded him, and of his mistress, Madame Maintenon, who was a zealous Catholic, resorted to a measure, the boldness of which was as astonishing as its cruelty. This was the revocation of the famous Edict of Nantes, which since 1598 had been the charter of religious liberty in France. All meetings for Protestant worship, whether public or private, were forbidden; all Protestant churches were ordered to be destroyed; all Protestant clergymen were banished; and parents were ordered to have their children baptised by Catholic clergymen, and brought up in the Catholic religion. This terrible decree, which was enforced by military executions and other atrocities, produced the effects which might have been anticipated. Many succumbed, and either really or pretendedly conformed to the Catholic religion; but thousands went into exile. It is calculated, that in a few years as many as one million of French Protestants emigrated to Germany, England, and Holland, carrying with them about twenty millions sterling of property. To check this emigration, the Protestants were forbidden to leave the country; but they continued, nevertheless, to make their escape. One consequence of the emigration was, that many branches of manufacture, till then peculiar to France, were introduced by the refugees into other countries. Many of the refugees were silk-weavers; and in the district of London called Spitalfields, as well as in other towns of Great

Britain, there are still to be traced the remains of little colonies of French silk-weavers, who settled there towards the end of the seventeenth century. No event in French history was more fertile in incidents of family romance than the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

97. But while Louis was hostile to the Protestants, he was by no means disposed to admit the claims of the papacy to the ecclesiastical supremacy of his dominions. He regarded the clergy of France but as a particular class of his subjects, and the French Church but as one of the institutions of which he, as king of France, had the care and the superintendence. Accordingly, he resented every approach to papal interference within his dominions. In 1682—Pope Innocent XI. having remonstrated with him in favour of two French bishops, who had appealed to the pope a matter in dispute between them and the civil authorities of the kingdom—Louis convened a general assembly of the French clergy, in which former decrees asserting the independence of the Gallican Church were confirmed, and the fallibility of the popes, and the superior authority of general councils in matters of faith, declared. The leader of that party of the French clergy who thus vindicated the national independence of the French Church was the famous Bossuet, bishop of Meaux; and the particular type of Catholicism of which this celebrated man was the expounder, has always been prevalent in France. There were not wanting, however, men who took the more extreme view, and advocated what were called *Tramontane* principles—that is, those doctrines as to the constitution of the church which prevailed in the countries south of the Alps, where the absolute supremacy of the pope was held to be an essential article of the Catholic creed. France was full of Jesuits; some of whom, in the capacity of confessors, possessed great influence at court, which they employed to counteract the views of Bossuet. Nor were *Jesuitism* and *Gallicanism* the only two forms of Catholicism which French society presented during the reign of Louis XIV. A third form of Catholicism, embraced by some of the ablest and best men of France at this time, and the effects of which on French opinion

were very great, was that called *Jansenism*, the founder of which was Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, in the Netherlands. Jansenius had died in 1638; but his theological views, which were a kind of reproduction of those of St Augustine, and resembled in many respects those of the Protestants, had made considerable progress in the north of France, and had been condemned by papal edicts. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, the Jansenists, in whose ranks were included Arnauld, Nicole, Pascal, and other very eminent men, were strong enough to attract notice as an independent party. From a kind of monastic retreat at Port Royal, near Paris, where the Jansenist leaders lived for the purposes of contemplation and study, they sent forth writings in defence of their own orthodoxy, and against the Jesuits; and for some years, France was occupied with the controversy between Jansenism and Jesuitism. For a while Jansenism was tolerated, and was even in favour at court; but at last, in 1709, the monastery of Port Royal was suppressed, and the Jansenists, as a separate body of French religionists, ceased to exist.

98. During the reign of Louis XIV. was perfected that system of centralisation in every department of government which still distinguishes France from all other European countries. The provinces were governed by Paris; all Paris gyrated round the court; and the central personage of the court, whose smile dispensed happiness, and whose frown plunged into misery, was the king. 'Study city-life; study court-life,' was the maxim of the literature of that day; and in the literature of the reign of Louis XIV., we see Paris and the court continually brought before our eyes. We see the king surrounded by nobles and ladies; we see pomp and polish of manners, concealing corruption and licentiousness of morals; we see Jesuit confessors, Gallican bishops, Jansenist pamphleteers, and Protestant sectaries, mingling and interchanging remarks, not only with each other and with the courtiers, but also with wits, dramatists, actors, painters, and men of science. In the morning, the court goes to hear a sermon of Bourdaloue or Bossuet; the rest of the day it spends

in ceremonial or gaiety; and in the evening, it attends a comedy of Molière. French authors still look back to the reign of 'Louis the Magnificent' as the golden age of French civilisation and French literature.

99. It was not merely the administration of Louis that made his reign important. His foreign wars engaged, for sixty years, the attention and activity of Europe. Of these wars, all of which Louis carried on, not in person, but by his generals, the most important were—a war in the Netherlands, which lasted from 1667 to 1678; a second war in the Netherlands and Germany, which began in 1689, and ended in 1697; and a third war, called the War of the Spanish Succession, which began in 1701, and lasted till 1713.

100. The first war originated in a claim which Louis advanced, on the death of Philip IV. of Spain (1665), to the duchy of Brabant, and other parts of the Netherlands, as belonging to his wife, Maria-Theresa, the daughter of Philip by a first marriage. The Spaniards resisted the claim, maintaining that Charles II., the son of Philip by a second marriage, had a right to these as to all the other portions of the Spanish Empire. Louis, accordingly, sent troops into the Spanish Netherlands, and gained various successes. Alarmed by an aggression which threatened to disturb the equilibrium of Europe, Great Britain, Sweden, and Holland formed a Triple Alliance, and obliged Louis to come to terms with Spain. A treaty, advantageous to France, was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle (1668). Louis, however, resented bitterly this interference of the Triple Alliance; and regarding the Dutch as the principal contrivers of the alliance, he resolved to make war upon them. On the frivolous pretext that the Dutch had struck some medals injurious to his dignity, he sent a force of 120,000 men to invade Holland, having previously taken care to detach Great Britain and Sweden from the Triple Alliance, so as to leave the Dutch entirely to their own resources. 'The nation of plebeians, heretics, republicans, and shopkeepers,' as Louis contemptuously called the Dutch, defended their liberties more bravely than he had expected—the Prince of Orange leading their

land army, while the brave De Ruyter commanded their fleet. Led, however, by such generals as Turenne and Condé, the French invaders were successful; a great part of Holland was overrun, and the Dutch were driven to their last expedient—of breaking down their dikes, and flooding large districts of the country. In this extremity, the German Emperor Leopold, the king of Spain, and several of the German states, came to the rescue of the valiant republic; the English parliament likewise compelled Charles II. to break his alliance with the French; and at length (1673), Louis was obliged to abandon his conquests and recall his army. No sooner was this done, however, than he turned against Spain and Germany themselves. The war was carried on by land in Germany and the Netherlands, and by sea on the Mediterranean; a series of great battles was fought with various success, in one of which Turenne was killed, and in another De Ruyter; but in 1678, the war was brought to a close by the Peace of Nimeguen, by which France acquired possession of Franche Comté, and of sixteen cities in the Spanish Netherlands.

101. The peace was of short duration; for in 1689, a new war broke out, in which Louis found himself opposed to the German emperor, the Dutch, the British, and the Spaniards. This was immediately after the revolution which expelled James II. from England, and transferred the crown of Great Britain to his son-in-law, William, Prince of Orange. As a means of injuring Great Britain, Louis took up the cause of the exiled king. The support which he gave to his cause, however, was insufficient and dilatory, and James spent the remainder of his days in France. In revenge for the part which his old enemies the Dutch had taken in the English revolution, Louis turned his arms against them, which again called forth the help of the Germans and the Spaniards. For eight years, the war was carried on by sea and land, and battles were fought in Spain, the Netherlands, Italy, Ireland, and Germany. The French gained brilliant victories, but sullied their successes by fearful devastations in Germany. At length a general peace was concluded at Ryswick, in

September 1697, the powers involved making mutual concessions and giving mutual guarantees.

102. The famous war of the *Spanish succession* broke out in 1701, and Europe was again convulsed. The origin of the war was as follows:—Charles II. of Spain having neither son, daughter, nor brother, there were three conflicting claims to the Spanish succession in case of his death—that of the Dauphin, the son of Louis XIV., by right of his mother, Maria-Theresa, the elder sister of Charles; that of the electoral prince of Bavaria, by right of *his* mother, Margaret Theresa, a younger sister of Charles; and that of the Emperor Leopold, by right of his aunt, a sister of Charles's predecessor, Philip IV. Various attempts were made to settle these conflicting claims—which were complicated by marriage-contracts and the like—before the death of the Spanish king. Thus, in 1698, France, Great Britain, and Holland agreed to a treaty for the partition of the Spanish Empire after the death of Charles—Spain Proper, with its colonies and possessions in the Netherlands, to go to the Bavarian prince; the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, with other portions of Spanish Italy, to go to the Dauphin; and the duchy of Milan to go to the Archduke Charles, the second son of the Emperor Leopold. By this arrangement, it was hoped that a new European war would be prevented, and the balance of power preserved. The sudden death of the Bavarian prince, however, made a second treaty of partition necessary; and it was agreed at London (March 1700) that the Spanish monarchy should descend to the Archduke Charles, and that the Dauphin, as before, should have the Two Sicilies with some additions. Louis XIV. accepted this arrangement, but Leopold demurred. Meanwhile, the Spanish king, after consulting with the best lawyers of the time, made a will of his own, recognising the succession as belonging to his elder sister, Maria-Theresa, and, therefore, to her son the Dauphin; but declaring that, as the Dauphin was heir to the crown of France, and as the union of the crowns of France and Spain was forbidden by a fundamental law, the inheritance should descend to Philip of Anjou, the Dauphin's second son. The will further provided, that, failing Philip, his

younger brother, the Duke de Berri, should succeed, and that only in the third instance should the inheritance descend to the Austrian archduke. It also forbade the partition of the Spanish Empire.

103. Scarcely was this will made, when Charles II. of Spain died (1700). Louis XIV. acceded to the terms of the will, and accepted the Spanish crown for his grandson, as Philip V. of Spain. Had he behaved with ordinary prudence, the European powers would have been satisfied with this arrangement; but his conduct was such as to give the impression that he desired to unite France and Spain into one kingdom, and bequeath it to his family. Alarmed at the prospect of the establishment of so colossal a power, the emperor, some of the German states, Great Britain, Portugal, the United Provinces, and the Duke of Savoy, formed an alliance against Louis, and agreed not to lay down arms till the Spanish Empire should be dismembered, and securities exacted against the union of France and Spain. The parliament of Great Britain was at first reluctant to take part in this war; but when Louis, after the death of James II., recognised his son, the Pretender, as the true king of Great Britain, they no longer hesitated. The war which ensued was one of the most memorable on record. The victories of Prince Eugene in Italy, and those of the Archduke Charles in Spain, on the part of the allies, were barely counterbalanced by those won for Louis by the Duke of Berwick, the natural son of James II. of England; and in the Low Countries, the superb military genius of the Duke of Marlborough was entirely irresistible. In 1704, was fought the battle of Blenheim; in 1706, that of Ramillies; and in 1709, that of Malplaquet. This last defeat reduced Louis to such extremities, that he was obliged to sue for peace. The allies, having him at their mercy, were about to impose most humiliating conditions upon him, when two events occurred which changed the aspect of affairs. One of these was the fall of the Whig party in England, and with it of Marlborough's influence—the Tories, who then came into power, finding it advisable to make peace

with Louis (1711). The other event, which happened in the same year, was the accession of the Archduke Charles to the German Empire, by the sudden death of his brother Joseph, who had succeeded Leopold in 1705. The allies, who saw as much danger to the balance of power in Europe from the aggrandisement of the House of Austria as from that of the House of Bourbon, had no longer any interest in fighting in behalf of the archduke's claims on Spain; and, accordingly, Louis was able to negotiate with them on more favourable terms than he had hoped. After various delays, a general pacification was framed at Utrecht in April 1713, and signed by all the belligerent powers, with the exception of the emperor, who, however, accepted it in the following year.

104. The provisions of this famous treaty were numerous and important. In the first place, the great Spanish Empire was divided. Spain Proper, with its colonies, was settled on the Bourbon line of Philip V. and his descendants, on the express condition that these Bourbons should renounce all claim to the crown of France, and that the French Bourbons should renounce all claim to the crown of Spain, so that the two kingdoms might never be united. The other parts of the Spanish Empire were thus disposed of: Naples, Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands, were made over to Austria; Sicily, with one or two portions of Northern Italy, was given to the Duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus II., who was at the same time permitted to assume the regal title; and Gibraltar and Minorca were ceded to the British, who had captured them during the war. Moreover, France ceded her conquests and acquisitions in the Netherlands, and agreed to recognise the Rhine as the boundary between the French and the German territories. France also ceded to Great Britain a portion of her American possessions, including Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay territory, and St Christopher's; and Louis XIV. engaged to give no more support to the exiled family of the Stuarts, and to recognise the rights of the House of Hanover to the British throne. In short, care was taken to include in the Treaty

of Utrecht a settlement of all the disputed questions then agitating Europe.

105. The only positive advantage secured to Louis XIV. by the Treaty of Utrecht, was the settlement of the crown of Spain on his grandson, Philip V., and his heirs—an advantage counterbalanced by serious losses on the part of the French crown. Accordingly, the close of his life may be considered to have been unfortunate. He died in 1715, after a reign of the almost unparalleled length of seventy-two years. He was succeeded by his great-grandson, Louis XV., the eldest son of the eldest son of the Dauphin; but as this prince was a minor, the regency devolved on his uncle, Philip, Duke of Orleans.

106. During the long reign of Louis XIV., many changes had occurred in Europe independently of those resulting from the general wars of which he was himself the originator; and in order to bring the history of Europe as a whole down to the date of the Treaty of Utrecht, it will be necessary to glance at some of these.

107. Great Britain.—In no country had there been more extraordinary changes than in Great Britain. Louis XIV. was but a child in the sixth year of his reign when the English nation exhibited a spectacle so astonishing to the world—the spectacle of a nation concluding a civil war by the deliberate trial and public execution of its king (1649). Had this event occurred at a later period in the life of Louis, there is no doubt that, with his strong ideas on the subject of the rights of monarchs, he would have interfered on behalf of Charles I., and perhaps sent his armies to chastise the rebellious and heretical islanders. As it was, however, Oliver Cromwell, who, after the abolition of monarchy in England, had been invested with the supreme power under the title of Protector, not only experienced no hostility from the government of Louis, but was even on good terms with his minister, Mazarin. During the whole Protectorate of Cromwell (1649–1658), Mazarin exercised the administration of France, and he not only appreciated Cromwell's genius, but recognised the danger of offending him. Never, indeed, had Great Britain been so powerful and orderly, or so much respected

abroad. In Scotland and Ireland, as well as in England, the rigour of Cromwell's rule was felt; while on every sea the English flag was recognised as that of the first of commercial nations. The Dutch having taken part with the exiled Stuarts, Cromwell obliged them to abandon it; and as the champion of European Protestantism, he made war upon Spain, from which power he wrested the important island of Jamaica. As Cromwell's power, however, was based on his own personal influence—as his instruments of government were merely military officers of the Independent party, distributed over the country, and obeying his orders—and as he was never able during his life to construct a parliament upon which the business of the country could devolve, his death was followed by a period of anarchy. His son Richard, a weak and mild man, resigned the Protectorate after a few months; and after a contest between the Parliament and General Monk, one of Cromwell's officers, the latter obtained the chief power, and arranged for the recall of the exiled royal family. Accordingly, in May 1660, Charles II.—who since the time of his father's execution had been a wanderer on the continent—was restored to the throne, amid the rejoicings of all except a small minority.

108. Charles II. (1660–1685) was a careless, easy man, of profligate life; and the whole policy of his reign was one of reaction against the principles and manners of the *Commonwealth* period. Not only were the chief men of that period put to death or degraded—all the more important measures of the period were reversed. Episcopacy was restored both in England and Scotland, in which last country there took place a dreadful persecution of the Covenanters, or more rigid Presbyterians. In political matters, also, Charles shewed a tendency to imitate the absolute conduct of his father. There remained, however, in Britain a fund of resolute opposition to despotic power, which shewed itself in various ways. The country divided itself into two great political parties, called respectively the *Whigs* and the *Tories*—the former consisting of the relics of the old Puritan party, reinforced by accessions from other portions of the community; the latter consisting

of those who, for whatever reason, were attached to the dynasty of the Stuarts. The dissensions between these parties were confined to mere debate during the reign of Charles; but in that of his brother and successor, James II. (1685–1689), they became more formidable. James, who was a Catholic, and a man of gloomy and narrow mind, surrounded himself with Jesuit counsellors, and resolved to change the religion of his kingdom. Encouraged in his design by Louis XIV., who furnished him with money and troops, he set at defiance the constitutional authority of parliament, and, maintaining a standing army in time of peace, began to pass edicts on his own responsibility. These outrages roused the spirit of the people—Tories and Whigs alike; and it was resolved to dethrone James in favour of his daughter Mary, who had married William of Orange, stadtholder of the Dutch provinces. Mary was his eldest daughter by his first marriage, and would have been heir to the throne in any case, but for the unexpected birth of a son by his second wife in June 1688. As the birth of this child excluded Mary and her Protestant husband, the people no longer hesitated. The Prince of Orange came over, by invitation, with an army of 15,000 men; James was driven from the kingdom; and William and Mary were seated on the throne as joint sovereigns. This event is known in history as the *English Revolution.*

109. William III. reigned till the year 1702, having survived his wife a short time. Externally, the whole policy of his reign was one of opposition to France—a policy which occasioned the interference of English armies in the continental wars of Louis XIV. Internally, his policy was one of firm government according to recognised constitutional principles. Episcopacy was abolished in Scotland; the liberty of the press was guaranteed; the royal power was limited within certain defined boundaries; and that balanced constitution of King, Lords, and Commons arose, which has ever since borne the name of the English political system. In short, it is from the Revolution of 1688, and from the reign of the able Dutchman, William III., that Great Britain dates the commencement

of the present epoch of her social and political progress. In order to prevent a relapse from that happy condition of things which the Revolution had introduced, the order of succession to the throne was settled before William's death. James II. and his son were excluded; and it was determined that, after William's death, his wife's sister, Anne, the younger daughter of James II., and the wife of the Prince of Denmark, should be called to the throne; and that then the succession should pass to the Electoral House of Hanover, as the Protestant family nearest in kin. It was declared that no Catholic should ever inherit the crown.

110. The reign of Queen Anne (1702–1714) was, in its main features, a continuation of that of William and Mary. In the Spanish War of Succession, British armies, led by the great Whig Duke of Marlborough, and by other generals, performed achievements which raised the military reputation of Britain to a point which it had not attained on the continent since the time of Edward III.; and among the contracting powers in the Treaty of Utrecht, Britain was able to assume the foremost place. The navy of Britain rivalled the exploits of her army; and British commerce extended itself with wonderful rapidity in all parts of the earth. Meanwhile, amid parliamentary struggles between the Whig and Tory parties, rendered sometimes more bitter and dangerous by conspiracies of the *Jacobites*—that is, of the partisans of James II. and his son the Pretender, whose claims to the throne were supported by Louis XIV. and by other foreign powers—the British nation at home was advancing in wealth, civilisation, and culture. The reign of Anne was rendered illustrious in the history of English literature, by the appearance of a number of literary men, or 'wits,' as they were called, whose writings in various departments, though less profound and original than those of the poets and prose-writers of the Elizabethan age, exhibited extraordinary talent, and fine taste in expression and style. These wits were chiefly congregated in London, where many of them were employed and paid by the Whig and Tory leaders, whose political opinions they supported by their pens.

Over the whole country, however, a taste for literature was diffused, which had a great effect on the tone of manners. This taste extended itself to Scotland, where, for the first time, native writers began to use a style that could be properly called English, instead of the dialect of their own country, used by the few Scottish writers who had lived before that period. One most important event, which tended still more to establish a community of interests between the two countries, was the famous Union of 1707, by which the two kingdoms of England and Scotland became one. Although the union of the crowns had taken place more than a century before, each country had retained its separate legislature, and all attempts to incorporate the two had failed. Even in 1707, the Act of Union met with a desperate resistance on the part of the Scottish people. The courage and prudence of the leading politicians in both countries, however, carried the measure; the Scottish Parliament, or Convention of Estates, ceased to exist; and the legislature of the United Kingdom was vested in the general British Parliament meeting at London, to both Houses of which Scotland was allowed to send a certain number of representatives. Accompanying this act, was an act guaranteeing the inviolability of the Presbyterian form of church-government in Scotland. The new parliament of Great Britain had met but for a few sessions when Queen Anne died, and the crown passed, as determined in the act of succession, to George, elector of the German state of Hanover, whose mother was a grand-daughter of James I. Under the title of George I., this German prince reigned over the British Empire from 1714 to 1727.

111. THE GERMAN EMPIRE.—The Peace of Westphalia in 1648 had so settled the organisation of the German Empire, both as regarded the rights of the princes of each of the confederated states in the matter of religion, and as regarded the relations of these states to the imperial authority of the House of Austria as the head of the confederacy, that the entire period between that peace and the Peace of Utrecht in 1715 was one of internal repose.

112. During this period, as we have seen, the empire,

under the reigns of Leopold I. (1658–1705) and Joseph I. (1705–1711), had been involved in the successive wars of Louis XIV.; but though these wars cost the Germans much money and bloodshed, they did not derange the political system established by the Peace of Westphalia. Indeed, it was rather in their capacity of Austrian sovereigns, than in that of German emperors, that Leopold and Joseph had been interested in these wars; and their chief result, as we have seen, had been to aggrandise the single German House of Austria, by transferring to this house, at the Treaty of Utrecht, the large Italian possessions till then attached to the Spanish crown. Charles VI., the brother and successor of Joseph (1711–1741), found himself, in his single capacity as an Austrian sovereign, master of an empire little less extensive than that over which he presided in his other capacity as German emperor—an empire including not only the old Austrian dominions, with the appended sovereignties of Hungary and Bohemia, but also Lombardy, Naples, and the Southern Netherlands. This immense extension of the Austrian dominions by the Treaty of Utrecht, made Austria even more decidedly than before the preponderating state in the German Empire, and centralised the direction of that empire in the court of Vienna.

113. The reign of Leopold I. was signalised by a terrible invasion of the Turks, which threatened to ruin Austria, and barbarise Eastern Europe. There is reason to believe that this invasion was the result of intrigues of Louis XIV.; its immediate cause, however, was a revolt in Hungary. Availing themselves of this revolt, the Turks, who had not yet abandoned their design of extending the religion of Mohammed and the rule of the sultan westward among the European nations, entered Hungary with a vast army, and after defeating the imperialist forces, advanced to the walls of Vienna (1688). They besieged the city, and were on the point of taking it, when a Polish army, with John Sobieski, king of Poland, at its head, came to the rescue, and defeated the Turks. A campaign or two more cleared the empire and Hungary of these formidable foes; but so terrible had been the

danger, that John Sobieski was hailed everywhere as the saviour of Christendom.

114. It was for its services in this Turkish war that the House of Brunswick-Lunenburg, till then only of ducal rank in the empire, was raised to the higher dignity of the electorate. At the Peace of Westphalia, as has been mentioned, an eighth electorate had been added to the original seven; and Leopold, to reward Duke Ernest-Augustus of Brunswick for his alacrity in supplying men and money for the war against the Turks, did not hesitate to create a ninth (1692). The other states of the empire resented this elevation of the House of Brunswick; and it was not till 1708 that the house was allowed to assume its full electoral rights. This was in the electorate of George, afterwards king of Great Britain.

115. Nearly about the same time that the dukes of Brunswick were made electors of Hanover, another German house, which already enjoyed the dignity of the electorate, was raised to the higher rank of royalty. This was the famous House of Hohenzollern, hereditary marquises and electors of Brandenburg. The mark or marquisate of Brandenburg was one of the original marches of the empire of Charlemagne, and included the civil government and military defence of those portions of the empire which bordered on the savage Slavonian tribes of the Baltic coasts. Like the similar march of Austria, this government had been enlarged and consolidated by its possessors, and transmuted from a fief into a hereditary state; and in the fourteenth century, the marquisate of Brandenburg was made one of the seven electorates of the empire. In 1417, on the death of one of the marquises without issue, the succession was purchased by Frederick, burgrave of Nuremberg and Count of Hohenzollern. With him began a line of electors of Brandenburg distinguished for their energy and talent. These electors had for their eastern neighbours the Teutonic Knights, who governed the mixed German and Slavonian tribes of the country now known as Prussia Proper. Lying on the common boundary of Germany and Poland, the territories of the

Knights were claimed by both; but after various disputes, they were recognised as a fief of the Polish crown. At the time of the Reformation, one of the Brandenburg family was grand-master of the order of Teutonic Knights, and consequently lord of Prussia under the Polish kings; but Protestantism having spread largely in this part of Europe, the lordship was secularised, along with many German and Polish bishoprics, and conferred on the grand-master as a hereditary duchy dependent on Poland. From this period, therefore, there were two lines of Brandenburgs—the Marquises of Brandenburg, electors of the German Empire, whose capital was Berlin; and the Dukes of Prussia, vassals of the Polish crown, whose chief towns were Dantzic and Königsberg. Both lines supported the Protestant cause, and increased their influence by their conduct during the religious wars of the sixteenth century. At length, in 1618, the two lines were united in the elector, John Sigismund; and from this time, Brandenburg and Prussia may be considered as forming a single state, partly German and partly Polish. His grandson, Frederick-William, called 'the Great Elector,' was one of the most active and able men of his time; and by the part he played in the Thirty Years' War, and in the wars going on between Sweden and Poland, and between France and Germany, he added Pomerania and other contiguous districts to his electorate, and became virtually an independent potentate. In 1657, at a time when his services were much required by Poland, he obtained from that state the full sovereignty of Prussia, which he had till then held but as a feudal duchy. On his death in 1688, he bequeathed his power and his valuable possessions to his son Frederick, who was content for some time with the simple title of elector, but at last resolved to obtain that of king. He negotiated on the subject with the Emperor Leopold, who gave his consent on certain conditions. Accordingly, on the 18th of January 1701, Frederick, Marquis-elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia, was crowned at Königsberg as Frederick I., King of PRUSSIA. It was remarked, as characteristic, that he put the crown on his head with his own hand. His reign

was an able one: he obtained great military distinction in the war of the Spanish succession; and following the example of his father, the Great Elector, he welcomed religious refugees of all nations into his dominions. He was succeeded in 1713 by his son Frederick-William I., who, as the reward of his father's labours in the war against Spain, received as an accession to his dominions Spanish Guelderland and the Swiss canton of Neuchatel.

116. SWEDEN, DENMARK, POLAND, AND RUSSIA.—During the wars of Louis XIV. in Western Europe, a series of wars scarcely less important in their effects, and even more extraordinary in their circumstances, had been going on in the north and east, involving Sweden, Denmark, Poland, and Russia. In fact, the history of those countries from the Peace of Westphalia to that of Utrecht, is one entangled narrative of Scandinavian-Slavonian wars.

117. At the beginning of this period, *Sweden* was the great power in the north, retaining the reputation and the influence which had been won for her by the exploits of Gustavus Adolphus. The Peace of Westphalia, which was concluded during the reign of Christina, the daughter of Adolphus (1632–1654), rewarded Sweden for the exertions of her heroic king in the Thirty Years' War, by ceding to her Pomerania and other districts on the Baltic, and giving her three votes in the German Diet. Christina, whose tastes were wholly for literature and the fine arts, found herself incapable of reconciling her favourite pursuits with the cares of government; and accordingly, at the age of twenty-eight, she resigned her crown, and retiring into private life, became known as a great collector of books and medals, an indefatigable traveller, and one of the most eccentric women of her time. She died at Rome in 1689, after having filled Europe with the fame of her eccentricities. While she was travelling in France, England, Italy, and other countries, her cousin and successor in the throne of Sweden, Charles X. (1654–1660), was carrying on wars against Denmark, Poland, and Russia, with a view to the establishment of a Scandinavian Empire that should command the Baltic. His war on Poland, the throne of which was then occupied by John Casimir

(1648–1669), was conducted with such energy, that it required all the efforts of the Great Elector of Brandenburg, the Russian czar, the German emperor, and other allies of the Poles, to save the kingdom from being conquered and annexed to Sweden. It was on this occasion that the Elector of Brandenburg exacted from the Polish crown the sovereignty of his Prussian duchy. Foiled in his attempt upon Poland, the Swedish king turned his arms against Denmark. He laid siege to Copenhagen, and threatened to raze it to the ground, and make Denmark a Swedish province. Notwithstanding the interference of the Dutch and of the Western powers, he would probably have succeeded, and thus united all the Scandinavian countries into a single monarchy, had he not been cut off by a premature death in 1660. His son Charles XI. was a minor; and the counsellors who acted for him hastened to conclude the wars which his father had begun. Three treaties were arranged in the same year (1660)—one with Poland, called the Treaty of Oliva, by which the hereditary feud between Poland and Sweden, originating in the claims of the Polish king, Sigismund Vasa, to both crowns, was settled; one with Denmark, called the Treaty of Copenhagen; and one with Russia, called the Treaty of Kardis. By these treaties, Sweden resigned most of her conquests, and entered on a career of peaceful internal development under Charles XI. (1660–1696).

118. Relieved by the Treaty of Copenhagen from her disastrous contest with Sweden, *Denmark* prosecuted a steady but unobtrusive career of internal improvement. Frederick III., in whose reign (1648–1670) this treaty was concluded, was consoled for his military reverses in the Swedish war by an act of the Danish Diet, by which the three estates voluntarily resigned their legislative privileges, and invested him and his successors with the absolute monarchy of all the Danish dominions, including Norway. This singular act, prompted by the peculiar condition of Denmark at the time (1665), constituted, till 1834, the fundamental law of Denmark, the kings being absolute over their subjects, though the exercise

of their rule was happily, in general, unaccompanied with the usual consequences of despotism. Christian V., the son and successor of Frederick (1670–1699), exercised his absolute rule in such a manner, as to become the idol of his subjects. Although he engaged in renewed wars with Sweden, his chief attention was directed to the domestic affairs of Denmark. During his reign, a Danish West India Company was established; and new settlements were made by the Danish East India Company on the coasts of Hindostan.

119. Meanwhile, *Poland* had passed through various vicissitudes. The disorganised condition of this kingdom —a consequence, partly, of its absurd political constitution, partly of the intolerant policy of her recent kings against the Protestants—exposed it to the attacks of its neighbours; and, during the whole reign of John Casimir (1648–1669), Swedes, Russians, Cossacks, and Turks, were as familiar with the Polish territories as the Poles themselves. Pestilence added its ravages to the horrors of invasion; and at no time were the fortunes of Poland so desperate. In 1669, John abdicated, and the nobles compelled one of their own number, Michael, Prince Wiesniowitzki, to accept the crown. The reign of Michael (1669–1674) was one of incessant confusion; the Turks became masters of the Ukraine, and compelled him to consent to pay an annual tribute. In the midst of this confusion, the eyes of all Poland were turned to one man, as the only one who could save the country. This was John Sobieski, castellan of Cracow, and one of the magnates of the kingdom. Distinguished by his military successes against the Turks, even in the reign of John Casimir, Sobieski continued, during the reign of Michael, to animate the spirits of his countrymen by his occasional victories over the invaders. The Diet, refusing to ratify the disgraceful bargain of Michael, empowered Sobieski to continue the war. He gained a great victory at Choczim in 1674; and Michael dying about the same time, the Diet with one voice chose Sobieski as their king. His reign (1674–1696) was the last glorious epoch in the annals of Poland. Not only did he drive the Turks

out of Poland itself, but meeting them with his Polish army under the walls of Vienna, he delivered that capital when it was on the point of being taken (1683), and earned for his countrymen the credit of one of the greatest actions which their history can exhibit—that of having rolled back from Europe, at a most critical moment, the tide of Mohammedan invasion. The great mind of Sobieski would also, had it been practicable, have restored order and good government in Poland. This, however, was impracticable. It was in vain that he proposed reforms which would have remedied obvious abuses, and assimilated the social condition of Poland to that of other countries. The turbulent spirit of the nobles, and, above all, the absurd rule of the *liberum arbitrium*, which put it in the power of a single dissentient noble in the Diet to prevent a measure from passing into a law, arrested all his schemes; and before he died, he was heard to confess, with tears in his eyes, that he believed Poland to be doomed.

120. While Poland, a country of great natural resources, was sinking in importance, her neighbour, *Russia*, though less favoured by nature, was rapidly rising in power under the energetic rule of the Romanoffs. Michael Romanoff, the founder of this dynasty, reigned from 1613 to 1645, and justified the anticipations which had been formed of him. Refraining from attempts at conquest, he devoted himself to the work of internal improvement. The industry of Russia was fostered; commercial treaties were made with France and Great Britain; and foreign officers were engaged to organise the army after the model of those of other countries. Alexis, the son and successor of Michael (1645–1676), trod in the footsteps of his father. The early part of his reign was disturbed by insurrections of the nobles; but the latter part was tranquil and prosperous. He wrested various provinces from Poland; promulgated a code of laws; established manufactures of silk and iron; and attempted to open an overland communication with China. Feodor or Theodore II., the son of Alexis (1676–1682), effected a revolution in the condition of Russia by abolishing, at one blow, the hereditary rank and prerogatives

of the nobles. From that time, Russia, till then distracted by the feuds of its nobles, who even possessed a regular court for the settlement of their disputes among themselves, has been subject to the absolute will of its czars. The change was the more easily effected, that the mass of the Russian nation, being serfs of the boyards, were in favour of it. Feodor dying in 1682, his two younger brothers, Ivan and Peter, were jointly appointed his successors by the Strelitzes. Ivan being an imbecile, and Peter a mere child, their elder sister Sophia, a woman of ambitious spirit, contrived to exercise the regency till 1689, when Peter, who had then attained his seventeenth year, took the power into his own hands. Sophia was imprisoned in a convent; and Ivan dying in 1696, Peter remained sole autocrat of Russia.

121. Peter, thenceforward known as Peter I., or Peter the Great, was in some respects the most remarkable man of his age. Tall, stout, and active in body, he possessed a character entirely original, in which qualities only to be looked for in the most enlightened statesmen of the most civilised countries, were blended with others peculiar to the Russian boor. No sooner had he become his own master, than he resolved to devote his life to the great work of civilising Russia. As a necessary preliminary to this vast undertaking, he began with civilising himself. During the regency of his sister Sophia, his education had been entirely neglected, and he had been abandoned to the society of debauched companions. It shews the strength of his native genius, and the indomitable force of his will, that, with a boyhood and youth so spent, he should have, in his eighteenth year, marked out for himself so noble a career as that which he followed. His first care was to make himself a soldier. For this purpose, he submitted himself to drill in a body of men which he caused a Scotch officer to train for him. He obliged all the young boyards to follow his example, so that, rising gradually from the ranks, they might be qualified to command. He caused his men to shave off their long beards, and abandon their uncouth Russian dress and accoutrements; and though these changes were very unpopular at first, he soon

had a small army of Russians drilled and armed like the troops of the Western nations. He next resolved to provide himself with a navy; and for this purpose, not only hired Dutch and English shipwrights and sailors, but sent many Russians to Venice, Leghorn, and Holland, to become practically acquainted with seamanship and ship-building. He himself passed two summers in cruising in the Baltic and the White Sea in English and Dutch ships, so as to learn all the duties of a sailor. Finally, convinced that Russia was far behind other countries in the arts of life, and that the principles of her future civilisation must be imported from the West, he resolved to travel, for the purpose of acquiring, by actual experience, a stock of such knowledge as might fit him for the task he had undertaken. Setting out in 1697, at the age of twenty-five, accompanied by two favourites, Galitzin and Menschikoff, he proceeded to Saardam, in Holland. Here he worked in the dock-yards as a common shipwright, passing by the name of Peter Timmerman, and receiving wages for his labour like his fellow-workmen. He also assisted in rope-making, sail-making, and smith-work; he visited and inspected all the manufactories of the neighbourhood; he attended the hospitals, and learned to bleed and draw teeth. From Holland he went to England, to study the theory of ship-building. He was received by William III. with all the respect due to his rank; but, instead of going to court, he spent his days in the dock-yards of Woolwich, Deptford, and Rotherhithe, and his evenings in smoking, and drinking brandy and pepper in a public-house near Tower-hill, frequented by sailors. He next proceeded to Vienna, to make himself acquainted with the discipline and tactics of the Austrian army; and he was preparing to visit Italy, when intelligence of a rebellion in Russia reached him, and he returned home, after an absence of nearly two years. A Scottish officer, General Gordon, whom he had left in command at Moscow, had suppressed the rebellion before he arrived, and Peter's first occupation on his return was to punish the rebels. This he did with a ferocity which shewed that, underneath all his acquirements, there still lay

dormant much of the Russian savage. He caused 2000 of the *Strelitzes*, or old Russian soldiers, to be executed, and drafted the rest into the new regiments he had formed. He then entered with zeal on the work of reforming the entire social system of his country. He issued a ukase, ordering all the Russians, civil as well as military, to lay aside their Tatar dress, and to shave their beards. This order produced a terrible consternation among the Russians; and as those who did not comply were subject to a fixed tax, Peter obtained a large revenue for imperial purposes. This, with his other revenues, he applied to the establishment of public works, schools, libraries, and printing-presses, and to the payment of the foreign officers, engineers, and mechanics, whom he had brought back with him to instruct his subjects. He changed the Russian calendar, obliging the priests to date the commencement of the year from the 1st of January, instead of the 1st of September, as they had done till then. He encouraged the acquisition of foreign languages, and the importation of foreign books. In short, in every possible way, he strove to spread over the surface of Russian society a lacker of Western civilisation. It is true, the change did not penetrate deep: it was chiefly the upper classes, in Moscow and other large cities, that were affected; and the mass of the Russian people still remained with all their native habits and instincts untouched, justifying the saying of Napoleon a hundred years later, 'Scrape a Russian, and you will find a Tartar.' Still, there can be no doubt that the method adopted by Peter was the only one open to him; and that almost all the advances that Russia has made in civilisation since his time, have been the results of the changes which he effected.

122. It was not Peter's object, however, merely to civilise Russia. He desired also to exalt her power among the nations, and to make her influence felt in the political system of Europe. In order to do this, it was necessary that he should first assure her position in the north, by compelling the neighbouring states of

Sweden, Denmark, and Poland, to recognise her prowess. So far as Denmark and Poland were concerned, this would have been easy. Denmark, on the throne of which Christian V. had been succeeded by Frederick IV. (1699–1730), was in a highly prosperous condition, industrially and commercially; but the state of her resources fitted her rather for defensive than for offensive wars. Poland, no longer governed by the stalwart Sobieski, had again entered on one of those periods of convulsion which seemed to constitute her whole history. On Sobieski's death, a contest had, as usual, arisen for the succession to the Polish crown, and various candidates presented themselves. Of these, Augustus, Elector of Saxony, being able to bribe the highest, and being supported by the influence of the German emperor, proved the successful one; and after much opposition, which he put down by the aid of Saxon troops, he took possession of the throne as Augustus II. of Poland (1698–1733), at the same time renouncing his hereditary Protestantism for the Catholic faith, required by his new subjects. Augustus was an ambitious man, who made Louis XIV. his model. He entertained dreams of conquest for the restoration of Polish greatness, but was more intent on making his court famous for its gorgeousness and polish, than on the harder and more serious work which the circumstances of Poland required. He was accounted the most handsome man of his time, and possessed prodigious personal strength, the exhibition of which to his admiring courtiers was one of his amusements. From such a man, the bold and brawny shipwright of Russia had no rivalry to fear. It was different, however, when he turned his eyes to Sweden. There, seated on the Swedish throne—there was a monarch younger than himself by ten years, but with a character as eccentric as his own, an ambition as vast, and a genius as great, though of a different kind.

123. The reign of Charles XI. (1660–1696) had been signalised by a revolution in the fundamental law of Sweden, precisely similar to that which had occurred in Denmark. After a struggle, in which the king was

supported by the burghers and the peasants against the nobles, the Diet resigned its rights, and declared the throne to be irresponsible and absolute (1693). The ease with which so important a revolution was contemporaneously effected in the two Scandinavian kingdoms, can only be accounted for by the peculiar circumstances of Scandinavian society at that time, which rendered an absolute monarchy more agreeable to the mass of the people, and consequently more effective as a mode of rule, than a mixed government in which the monarch was controlled by an aristocratic Diet. At all events, this change in Sweden was necessary to render what followed possible. The entire care of the king was devoted to the organisation of the kingdom in such a manner as to place all its resources at the disposal of himself and his successors; and when his son, Charles XII., ascended the throne (1696–1718), at the age of fifteen, he was in a position to do whatever he liked. Boy as he was, Charles at once assumed the entire control of the state and the army, and exhibited a degree of obstinacy and self-will which astonished all around him. His fondness for military exercises amounted to a passion; and he seemed to have no idea that a monarch had anything else to do than drill and train armies, and lead them to great foreign enterprises. His dream night and day was of battles; and he resolved that, before he died, he would found that great Scandinavian empire which had been contemplated by so many of his predecessors.

124. It was in the year 1700, when Peter the Great was in his twenty-ninth, and Charles XII. in his nineteenth year, that the great war of the north broke out which brought them first into open antagonism. The war originated in a scheme of the handsome king of Poland for the recovery of Livonia—a province the possession of which had been a subject of contest for ages between Poland, Russia, and Sweden. The province then belonged to Sweden; and Augustus II., who had already begun his military career by following up Sobieski's triumphs over the Turks, and compelling them to cede to Poland its former possessions of Podolia and the Ukraine, did not

anticipate any effective resistance from the young Swedish king. He concluded an alliance with Denmark and Russia; and it was resolved that, if necessary, the three powers should dismember Sweden, and divide its territories among them. Accordingly, Sweden was simultaneously invaded by three armies—an army of Poles and Saxons entering Livonia; a Danish army entering Schleswig; and an army of 80,000 Russians laying siege to Narva. The extremity of the danger only roused to its highest pitch the ardour of the imperious young Swede. He first attacked the Danes, made a descent upon Copenhagen, and compelled them to make peace. Next, marching into Esthonia, he defeated the Russian army with a small force, and made its chief officers prisoners. Finally, he compelled the Poles to raise the siege of Riga, and drove them out of Livonia. All this was accomplished in a few months; and the greatest warriors of the day heard with astonishment of the deeds of the boy-general of the north.

125. Not content with repelling the invaders and breaking up their alliance, Charles determined on a signal retaliation. He directed his vengeance chiefly against Augustus II., whom he followed into his own dominions, beating him again and again. He openly announced his resolution not to desist from the war until he had deposed Augustus from the throne of Poland. Terrified by this menace, Augustus would have made any terms; but Charles would listen to none, and refused to see the envoys sent to treat with him. At last, after a great victory near Warsaw, the threat was put in execution: Augustus II. was deposed, and a Polish nobleman, named Stanislas Leczinski, elected in his stead (1704). A large party in Poland, unfriendly to Augustus from the beginning, and enraged at the troubles which his rash attack upon Sweden had brought on Poland, were favourable to the change; and as the new king was backed by the whole force of the Swedish army, his authority was soon recognised throughout Poland. The magnificent Augustus, disowned by his Polish subjects, was obliged to take refuge in his Saxon electorate. Even thither his implacable adversary pursued him. Marching through

Silesia, without asking the leave of any one, Charles beat the Saxons as he had beaten the Poles; took Leipsic; and compelled Augustus to sign an ignominious peace, in which he abjured his alliance with the czar, and resigned his claims to the Polish crown (1706). The Livonian Patkul was given up to the conqueror, who sent him to Stockholm, and had him broken on the wheel as a traitor. Charles remained at Leipsic for some time, and his camp was visited by many eminent persons of different countries, anxious to see so extraordinary a man.

126. Having inflicted so terrible a chastisement on one of his enemies—a chastisement all the more humiliating, that the victor was but a slovenly stripling, who went about in shabby clothes and with patched boots, while the defeated king was the model of all that was magnificent and graceful, and notoriously the most superb of European princes, both in person and dress—Charles turned his attention towards the only remaining member of the hostile league—the czar of Russia. Here, however, he met his match. He succeeded in driving the Russians out of certain provinces of Poland and Sweden, which they had invaded during his absence in Saxony; but when, not content with this, he led his Swedish veterans into Russia, with the intention of penetrating to Moscow and deposing Peter, as he had deposed Augustus, he found the enterprise beyond his power. The Russians retreated before him as far as Smolensk, and were beaten in several engagements when they ventured to oppose the Swedes. At Smolensk, however, winter, and the want of provisions, compelled Charles to arrest his march; and instead of pushing on to Moscow, he struck off towards the Ukraine, where Mazeppa, hetman of the Cossacks, had promised to join him. This step ruined him. In the Ukraine, he found the Russians masters, and was joined but by the wrecks of the Cossack army; at the same time that he was separated from an army of reinforcement which was marching to join him under General Lewenhaupt. The czar saw his advantage, and having first defeated General Lewenhaupt, marched into the Ukraine, and defeated Charles himself in a great battle at Pultowa (July 8, 1709)—the first battle ever

gained by Russians over regular troops. Nine thousand Swedes were killed, and twice as many taken prisoners; and Charles, seeing his fortunes annihilated, fled to the Turkish frontier. He reached it with great difficulty, and threw himself upon the hospitality of the sultan, Achmet III. The sultan received him kindly, gave him a liberal allowance, and assigned him Bender on the Dniester as a place of residence.

127. All Charles's arrangements were now reversed. Leczinski was set aside from the throne of Poland, and Augustus replaced on it, the Poles taking him back as readily as they had disowned him, and the pope absolving him from his vow of abdication. A new alliance was formed between Peter, Augustus, and Frederick of Denmark; and each carved out for himself that part of the Swedish dominions which he liked best. Russia took Ingria, Livonia, and Carelia, and other districts on the Baltic; Denmark took Holstein-Gottorp and Schonen; and Poland obtained some districts contiguous with it. The allies were prevented from dismembering Sweden altogether, only by the bravery of the Swedes in defending their territories, and by the unwillingness of the European diplomatists to permit an act so injurious to the balance of power.

128. It was not till 1714 that Charles reappeared on the scene. His behaviour during the interval had been most singular, and had sorely tried the patience of the Turks. He had sought to excite them to a war against the Russians, and had indulged in all kinds of freaks for that end. He seemed so totally to have forgotten Sweden, that his return was unexpected. Crossing Hungary and Germany in sixteen days, with a few attached Swedes who had remained by him and bore with his irritable temper, he arrived at Stralsund, and, without caring to go to Stockholm, immediately began the war. The czar, the king of Denmark, and Augustus of Poland, again took the field to oppose him; and were joined by Prussia and England, both of which powers were resolved that the insane ambition of the young Swede should not again have scope. The allies were successful: Stralsund and Wismar, the

only towns remaining to Sweden in Germany, were taken; and the czar added Finland to his previous conquests. Charles then invaded Norway, which he wished to wrest from Denmark; and finding his position desperate, he opened a secret negotiation with the czar, with a view to an alliance between Russia and Sweden for their mutual support. Peter, for reasons of his own, listened to the proposal; and a treaty was on the point of being arranged satisfactory to both monarchs, when Charles was killed by a ball at the siege of Frederickshald, in Norway (Dec. 11, 1718). He was but thirty-seven years of age at the time of his death, but his extraordinary career may be said to have closed before his thirtieth year.

129. The affairs of the northern nations were now arranged with little difficulty. The Swedes, wearied out with the fruitless and expensive wars of the deceased king, took vengeance on his minister, the Baron de Gortz, and tried and executed him as the chief abettor of the measures of the late reign. They chose Ulrica, the late king's sister, as their sovereign; but entirely changed the nature of the royal office, by vesting a great part of the executive power in a select body called the Senate, and the legislative power in a new representative diet. The princess was required to sign a declaration accepting the crown on these conditions; and when, in the following year, she wished to resign the crown to her husband, Prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassel, she was permitted to do so, and the royal authority was subjected to some further limitations. While the Swedes, by this revolution, abolished the despotic authority of their kings, Denmark, having no such grounds of complaint, permitted Frederick IV. to retain his absolute power, and to transmit it intact to his heirs. In Poland, Augustus II. continued to act his natural part as a king of splendid and sumptuous tastes, moving, like a graceful Hercules, amid crowds of courtiers and ladies. The Poles, irritated by his servility to Russia, and by his persecutions of the Protestants, organised frequent insurrections against him, which he put down by means of Saxon troops. His whole reign was one of misfortune for Poland; and to one of his acts—the reduction of the Polish national army from

100,000 to 20,000 men—the Poles afterwards attributed the ruin of their country. Meanwhile Russia, assuming the place hitherto occupied by Sweden as the great power of the north, was advancing in prosperity under the rule of its energetic czar, who continued, as before, his double warfare, against the uncouthness and barbarism of his own subjects, and against the powers surrounding Russia. He founded, among other towns, St Petersburg on the Neva, the future capital of Russia; he constructed canals and mills; instituted academies and hospitals; established uniformity of weights and measures; and issued hundreds of ukases relating to the industry, the commerce, and the manners of the Russians. In 1721, he assumed the title of 'Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias,' a title borne by all his successors. About the same time, in consequence of the misconduct of his son Alexis, whom he caused to be sentenced to death for treason, he published a ukase, vesting in himself and all future emperors of Russia the right of choosing their successors. He enlarged the Russian territories in the direction of the Caspian by wars on the Tatars of that region, and he schemed projects of future conquests both in Europe and in Asia.

130. Two treaties definitely settled the long contest of the north. The one, called the 'Treaty of Stockholm,' was concluded in 1720 between Sweden, Great Britain, Prussia, and Denmark; the other, called the 'Treaty of Nystadt,' was concluded in 1721 between Sweden and Russia. By the first, Sweden ceded part of Pomerania to Prussia, and recovered in return some of her other continental territories. By the second, Sweden renounced all claim to the Baltic provinces conquered by Russia, with the exception of Finland, which the czar restored.

131. We return now to Western and Central Europe. The Peace of Utrecht, by which the great powers fondly hoped that they had permanently settled all international disputes, did not remain long undisturbed. Neither Philip V. of Spain, nor the Emperor Charles VI. of Germany, was satisfied with the peace—the former, because it had stripped him of his Italian possessions and

the Netherlands, and excluded him and his heirs from the chance of inheriting the crown of France; the latter, because it had disallowed his claim to the Spanish crown. Philip, as the greater loser, was the more ready to avail himself of any opportunity to break the peace. He had not sufficient energy of character, however, to make such an opportunity, and would probably have acquiesced in the arrangement which limited his sovereignty to Spain and the Indies, had not a new influence begun, about the time of his grandfather's death (1715), to supplant that of the French counsellors who had till then guided him.

132. About this time, there resided at the Spanish court, as envoy from the petty Italian state of Parma, an Italian Jesuit, named Alberoni, originally a poor parish priest. Being a man of cunning and enterprising genius, he acquired much influence, and contrived to arrange a marriage between Philip—who was then a widower by the death of his first wife—and Elizabeth Farnese, Princess of Parma. The new queen was a woman of haughty and ambitious spirit, capable of breathing vigour into her husband's counsels; and by her influence, Alberoni, who had been created a bishop and a cardinal, was made chief minister. In this capacity, he at once developed his singular abilities for government and intrigue. His administration was characterised by a wisdom and justice the beneficial effects of which were felt both in Spain and in the colonies, but more especially in the latter. His great scheme, however, was to restore Spain, the most Catholic power in the world, and, consequently, in whose success he, as a Jesuit, felt most interested, to that position in Europe of which the Treaty of Utrecht had deprived her. He resolved to break down the Treaty of Utrecht, and win back for his master all the possessions in Italy and the Netherlands which had been given to the emperor, as well as his patrimonial rights to the regency of France during the minority of Louis XV., and to the succession to the French crown, in case of the death of that prince. The king and queen were easily gained over to his views.

133. Alberoni revealed his designs suddenly and boldly. He fitted out an expedition against Sardinia, and in three

months wrested that island from the emperor; he organised, by his agents, a conspiracy in France against the regency of the Duke of Orleans; and he prepared an expedition to England in behalf of the Pretender. The powers of Europe were instantly roused; and a Quadruple Alliance against Spain was formed by Great Britain, France, the United Provinces, and the emperor (1718). Nothing daunted, Alberoni continued the war, and reconquered Sicily from the Duke of Savoy, to whom the treaty of Utrecht had assigned it. The allies, however, invaded Spain; and Philip was obliged (1719) to make terms, and to dismiss Alberoni, who returned to Italy, and spent the remainder of his life in comparative obscurity. The allies then (1720) re-enacted the Treaty of Utrecht with some modifications. The most important of these were, that the Duke of Savoy should resign Sicily to the emperor, and take in exchange the island of Sardinia, retaining, however, the dignity of royalty granted him by the former treaty; and that Don Carlos, the eldest child of Philip V. by his second marriage, should be declared heir to the duchies of Parma and Piacenza. This arrangement was called the Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance.

134. Even then, peace was not restored. There was still a smouldering feud between the House of Austria and the Spanish Bourbons; and for ten years longer, this feud broke out at intervals in wars, sometimes relating to the possession of Italy, and sometimes to other matters. Almost all the powers of Europe were implicated in these wars, and alliances were formed and broken in quick succession. At length, in 1731, a final treaty was made at Seville, by which Austria and Spain came to an understanding, and the long and entangled controversy which had grown out of the question of the Spanish succession, was brought to a close.

135. On a retrospect of the affairs of Europe from 1648 to 1731, as here related, it will be seen that, underneath all the wars and alliances and negotiations of that period, there lay, if we may so speak, one general idea or principle—that of the so-called 'balance of power,'

introduced by the Peace of Westphalia. From the date of that peace, it had come to be a fixed notion in European politics, that a certain equilibrium should be preserved among the states of Europe; and that, for this purpose, all the states, and especially the larger ones, should keep a watch upon each other, to prevent mutual encroachments, or undue interference with the smaller and weaker states. In furtherance of this object, each state maintained ambassadors, residing permanently at the courts of the other states, to watch their proceedings, and conduct the negotiations which circumstances made necessary. Hitherto, however, as will be seen on looking back, the states of Europe had stood divided into two clusters, each preserving the balance of power for itself. In the first place, there were the powers of central, western, and southern Europe, with Spain, France, Great Britain, and Germany, at their head, mutually controlling each other, and preserving the equilibrium of that part of the European map—greatly shaken, as we have seen, by the ambitious wars of Louis XIV., and the subsequent struggle between Spain and Austria. But, besides this cluster of states, there was a northern cluster, almost independent of it, consisting of Sweden, Denmark, Poland, and Russia. Here also the balance of power had been threatened, and here also there had been wars to preserve it; out of which wars Russia had emerged as the preponderant power of the north. There were, it is true, points of contact between the two clusters of states—chiefly in Poland and Germany, where, geographically as well as politically, they merged into each other; but, on the whole, each cluster left the other to preserve its own equilibrium by its own efforts.

136. From the year 1731 onwards, we find a difference in this respect. The balance of power still continued to be the main notion of European politics; but from that time the south-western cluster of states and the northern cluster come into more frequent relations with each other, so as to extend the notion of a continuous balance of power over the whole map of Europe. From this period, accordingly, any disturbance in any part of Europe, whether in the north or in the south, became a

source of common interest to all the European states; and at whatever point such a disturbance broke out, there all the more powerful states took care to be present, by their armies and their ambassadors, to act on one side or the other, till peace was restored. Hence the history of Europe since that time resolves itself into a complicated series of general wars, alliances, and treaties, in which certain great powers occupy the foreground, grappling with each other, while the minor powers stand behind and look on with an interest in the issue. Three distinct wars, called respectively the *War of the Polish Succession*, the *War of the Austrian Succession*, and the *Seven Years' War*, agitated Europe in this manner between the year 1731 and the year 1763; and the main events in the contemporary history of the great European states group themselves round these wars.

137. *The War of the Polish Succession.*—In the year 1733, the handsome Augustus II., king of Poland, died; and the crown of that unhappy country was again in the market. Two candidates were in the field—Augustus III., the son of the deceased king, and his successor in the Saxon electorate; and Stanislas Leczinski, the former protégé of Charles XII. of Sweden, who, since his expulsion from Poland in 1709, had been wandering about as a refugee and ex-king. Had the Poles been left to decide for themselves between the two candidates, there is little doubt that they would have chosen Stanislas. As a native Pole, he had the patriotic party in his favour; and the nation, disgusted with their experience of foreign administration under their late king, were eager for a change. Besides, Augustus III. was by no means fitted to contest the election very energetically, being a man less able than his father, and, though nearly as handsome, much more lazy.

138. But the great powers of Europe did not leave it to the Poles to decide between the candidates. The balance of power was supposed to be implicated, and three or four, at least, of the other European states had interests at stake. (1.) In the first place, *France* took up the cause

of Stanislas. With the exception of the part it had taken in the Quadruple Alliance against Alberoni, this country had, since the accession of Louis XV. in 1715, engaged in few foreign enterprises. The Duke of Orleans, who exercised the regency from 1715 to 1723, was a man of excessively profligate private character, but of considerable administrative talents; and he had made it his object to keep France out of foreign wars, and foster her internal resources by a more liberal and popular policy than that of Louis XIV. Hundreds of political prisoners, incarcerated in the Bastille during the reign of Louis XIV., were liberated, and trade and commerce were encouraged, though not always wisely. On the death of the Duke of Orleans (1723), Louis XV. became of age, and chose the Duke of Bourbon for his minister. One of the duke's acts was to persuade Louis to marry the daughter of the Polish ex-king, Stanislas, then a guest at the French court. The Duke of Bourbon was superseded in the ministry (1726) by Cardinal Fleury, an able man of pacific tendencies, who tried, like the Duke of Orleans, to keep France out of unnecessary foreign quarrels. It was natural, however, that, on the vacation of the Polish throne, Louis XV. should support the claims of his father-in-law; and, accordingly, the influence of France was exerted in behalf of Stanislas, and he was duly elected by the Polish diet. (2.) While France thus supported the claims of Stanislas, *Russia*, for reasons somewhat more selfish, took up the cause of the Saxon elector. Two sovereigns had occupied and quitted the Russian throne since the death of Peter the Great in 1725. The immediate successor of Peter was his second wife, Catharine, who had been originally a Livonian peasant. She reigned but two years (1725–1727), during which the real government was exercised by Prince Menschikoff, one of Peter's favourite officers. On her death, Peter II., the son of the dissolute Alexis, succeeded (1727–1730), and Menschikoff was sent to Siberia. At the death of Peter II., a party of Russian nobles attempted to effect a revolution, so as to abolish the despotic authority of the czars; and for this purpose they raised to the throne Anne, Duchess

of Courland, the niece of Peter the Great, having exacted from her an agreement such as they required. Anne, however (1730–1740), no sooner took possession of the throne, than she cancelled the agreement, and proceeded to rule absolutely. In her reign, as in those of her two predecessors, the spirit of Peter the Great still swayed and directed the policy of Russia; and as the control of Poland by Russian influence had been one of Peter's ideas, this object was not lost sight of. During the whole reign of Augustus II., as we have seen, Russian influence was paramount in Poland. And so, when Augustus II. died, the Russian Empress Anne, acting as Peter the Great would have done had he been alive, supported the claims of his son, Augustus III., as the only means of preserving the power which Russia had acquired over her neighbour. Were Stanislas elected, Russian influence would be at an end in Poland; were Augustus elected, Poland would still be subservient to Russia. Accordingly, no sooner had France placed Stanislas on the Polish throne, than Russian troops entered Poland, and, with the assistance of Saxon troops, displaced him.

139. The other powers of Europe did not remain indifferent. Great Britain and Holland, it is true, declared themselves neutral; but Spain and Sardinia leagued with France, while the German emperor leagued with Russia. And so, out of a disputed Polish succession, there arose a war in which Russians and Germans, on the one side, fought with French, Spaniards, and Italians, on the other. Although Poland was the subject of the quarrel, Germany and Italy were the chief scenes of the campaigns; for, as Russia was too distant to be attacked, the western allies turned the brunt of the war against the German emperor. In Germany, the French gained brilliant victories, seizing, among other prizes, the duchy of Lorraine, the reigning duke of which was betrothed to the emperor's daughter. In Italy, the allies were even more successful. Almost all Lombardy was overrun by the Spanish and Sardinian troops; and the Spanish prince, Don Carlos, about whose claims to the duchies of Parma and Piacenza there had been so much dispute

already, took the opportunity to procure a more important Italian sovereignty for himself, by conquering Naples and Sicily from the Austrians. The conquest was effected with ease; and Don Carlos caused himself to be crowned king of the Two Sicilies at Palermo (1735), thus establishing the present Bourbon dynasty of Naples. Disheartened by these losses in Germany and Italy, and receiving but little help from Russia, the emperor was glad to conclude a peace. Negotiations were entered into between him and Cardinal Fleury; and a treaty was at last agreed to at Vienna (1738). Stanislas was to resign the Polish crown to Augustus III., retaining the honorary title of king for life, and receiving, as a more solid compensation, the duchy of Lorraine; with the proviso, that that duchy at his decease should not return to its original owner, but should be attached to France. To compensate the dispossessed duke, Francis, the emperor's son-in-law, he received the grand-duchy of Tuscany, the throne of which chanced then to be vacant. Don Carlos was confirmed in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies; and certain portions of Lombardy were ceded by Austria to Charles Emanuel III., king of Sardinia. Thus, by this treaty of Vienna, the arrangements of the previous treaties of Utrecht (1713) and Seville (1731) sustained some further modifications.

140. *The War of the Austrian Succession.*—Europe had scarcely escaped from the troubles of the Polish Succession, when a new contest of more gigantic dimensions arose. The immediate scene of this contest was the German Empire. Charles VI., during whose reign (1711–1741) so many important events had occurred, had taken every precaution to arrange affairs in such a manner that after his death there should be no dispute respecting his hereditary dominions of Austria. As early as 1713, he had published an arrangement, known as the Pragmatic Sanction, securing the Austrian states, in default of male heirs, to his eldest daughter Maria-Theresa and her descendants. He had secured the adherence of all the great states of Europe to this arrangement, by making it an article in all his treaties and

negotiations. On his death, therefore, in 1741, Maria-Theresa, whose husband Francis, ex-Duke of Lorraine, had been elevated by the treaty of Vienna to the grand-duchy of Tuscany, ought to have succeeded at once to all the Austrian dominions; while the German states were free to elect any prince they chose to succeed her father on the throne of the empire. The Austrian territories, however, were a far richer prize than the empire itself, including, as they did, Austria Proper, Hungary, Bohemia, Silesia, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Burgau, Brisgau, Friuli, Lombardy, and the Netherlands. Accordingly, notwithstanding previous agreements, various claimants appeared to contest the succession with Maria-Theresa. Charles, Elector of Bavaria, advanced a claim, founded on his descent from the Emperor Ferdinand I.; Augustus III., Elector of Saxony and king of Poland, made a similar pretension; Philip V. of Spain considered himself as entitled at least to the two kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia; the king of Sardinia put forward the same pretension to Milan and Lombardy; and, lastly, the king of Prussia claimed Silesia.

141. To shorten the contest, the five claimants formed an alliance against Maria-Theresa, and agreed to divide the spoil. This alliance was joined by France and Naples; while Russia, to prevent her from assisting the princess, was engaged in a war with Sweden. Only Great Britain and Holland stood by Maria-Theresa, and their assistance was chiefly in money. Her case, desperate from the first, was made still more so by the election of one of her opponents, the Elector of Bavaria, to the imperial throne, as Charles VII. (1741–1745). But by far the most formidable of her foes was the king of Prussia, Frederick II., or Frederick the Great. Of this extraordinary man, whose career began in the war against Maria-Theresa, it is necessary here to give some account.

142. The circumstances of the rise of the Prussian kingdom have been already narrated. Frederick-William I., the son and successor of Frederick I., the founder of the kingdom, had, during his reign of twenty-seven years (1713–1740), materially increased its extent and its

resources. By the treaty of Stockholm, which concluded the great war of the north (1720), he added to Prussia several districts which had formerly belonged to Sweden. He was a man of very singular character—extremely stern and austere in his own family, which he brought up on a system of rigid simplicity; indefatigable in the public business of his kingdom; very parsimonious; passionately fond of military exercises; and full of contempt for art, philosophy, and literature. The great aim of his life was to make the Prussian army the best drilled in Europe. One of his hobbies was to have a regiment of very tall men; and he had agents in all countries to procure him recruits of enormous size, at whatever expense. The chief sorrow of his life was, that his eldest son, Frederick, did not seem to inherit his military tastes. This prince, born in 1712, had contracted in his youth a fondness for philosophical and literary pursuits, which interfered with his father's plans for his education; and impatient of the domestic tyranny to which he was subjected, he attempted to escape to England. The estrangement became so bitter, that the stern old king at one time meditated putting his son to death. At length, however, a reconciliation took place, and the prince was permitted to devote a part of his time to literature and music. He corresponded with almost all the celebrated men of his time, and particularly with those of France. He had a peculiar affection for French literature and philosophy; and used the French language in his own writings in preference to his native German. He had a great admiration for Voltaire, then beginning to be famous, and opened a correspondence with him, which continued for many years. From these occupations he was called, at the age of twenty-eight, to assume his father's place at the head of the Prussian nation (1740). Prussia was then about 46,000 square miles in extent, with a population of about 2¼ millions, an army of 70,000 men, and a well-filled treasury. Her future career depended entirely on the character of her sovereign. With an able sovereign, she might dispute with Austria the supremacy of the German Empire, and raise herself to a position among the independent powers of Europe. With a foolish

ruler at her head, she was sure to sink back into her previous comparative insignificance as a state dependent on Germany on the one hand, and Russia or Poland on the other. Frederick II. took a clear view of his position, and marked out his path. He at once developed a military genius compared with which that of his father had been but the punctiliousness of a drill-sergeant. He broke up and pensioned off his father's useless regiment of giants; and placing himself at the head of the Prussian army, looked about for work for it. The death of the Emperor Charles VI. the year after his accession (1741), furnished him with what he wanted; and he flung himself headlong into the war with Maria-Theresa.

143. The king of Prussia rapidly overran Silesia, Moravia, and Bohemia; and the other allies occupied other parts of the Austrian possessions. Only Hungary, and one or two other districts, remained to Maria-Theresa. The Hungarians, however, rallied round her with an enthusiasm which was all the more touching, when it was considered what causes of complaint they had against her predecessors of the House of Austria. To a heart-stirring address which she delivered to the Diet of the Hungarian nobles at Presburg, the answer was a shout, and the Latin words so often quoted since—'*Moriamur pro rege nostro, Maria-Theresa*' ('Let us die for our *king*, Maria-Theresa') —at once a promise, and a compliment to her manly spirit. Thus supported by Hungary, and assisted with money by Great Britain and Holland, she refused at first to compromise with the king of Prussia. At length, however, seeing that, if she did not do so, the dismemberment of her territories was inevitable, she concluded a treaty at Berlin, ceding Silesia and some other possessions to Frederick, on condition of his withdrawing from the alliance (July 1742).

144. The retirement of the king of Prussia from the alliance was followed by that of the kings of Poland and Sardinia; and the tide of the war was turned. The French, the Spaniards, and the Neapolitans still continued the struggle, and battles were fought in various parts of the continent, in some of which British and Hanoverian

troops took part; but the success of Maria-Theresa was assured. At length, on the death of the Emperor Charles VII. (1745), her cause obtained a signal triumph. The emperor's son, his successor in the Bavarian electorate, renounced his father's claim to Austria; and the German states, as if to make amends to Maria-Theresa for her previous troubles, chose her husband, Francis, Grand-duke of Tuscany, to the imperial dignity (1745–1765).

145. The war, however, continued for three years longer before it was finally concluded. Frederick II. of Prussia, dissatisfied with some arrangements that had been made, again took the field against the empress. The king of Poland, on the other hand, remained true to his alliance with her, and an army of his Saxons invaded Silesia, in conjunction with the Austrian troops. Frederick displayed his military talents by driving them out of Silesia, and leading his victorious Prussians into Bohemia and Saxony. He had completely conquered the Saxon electorate, when, by the interposition of Great Britain, a treaty was concluded at Dresden, by which Frederick restored the electorate on certain advantageous terms. The empress and her allies then directed their force against the French and the Spaniards, who still carried on the war in Italy and the Netherlands. Austrian and Sardinian armies, in Lombardy and Piedmont, disputed the ground inch by inch with the French and their allies; German, British, and Dutch forces fought with the French in the Netherlands; and on the sea, British vessels of war took French and Spanish prizes, to signify the zeal of Great Britain in the cause of Maria-Theresa. In 1748, however, this straggling warfare by sea and land was brought to an end by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle—a peace which guaranteed Maria-Theresa in her Austrian dominions, and therefore simply restored things to the order in which they would have been had there been no war at all. The only exceptions were, that the king of Prussia was confirmed in the possession of Silesia; and that the Spanish Don Philip, younger brother of Don Carlos of Naples, received from Austria the Italian duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla. With these exceptions, the war of the Austrian

Succession, notwithstanding all the bloodshed and money it had cost, left Europe arranged precisely as it had been when Charles VI. died.

146. Perhaps the most important episode in this general European war, occasioned by the controverted succession of Maria-Theresa, was that special war between Great Britain and France which formed part of it. Since the accession of George I. of Hanover (1714), Great Britain had enjoyed comparative tranquillity. The commencement of his reign had been signalised by an attempt to bring back the Pretender (1715), and afterwards, as we have seen, Great Britain had taken part in the Quadruple Alliance against Spain for the maintenance of the Treaty of Utrecht (1719). With these exceptions, the reign of George I. was scarcely disturbed by anything more formidable than the domestic factions of the Whigs and Tories, with an occasional alarm of Jacobite insurrection. His minister, Sir Robert Walpole, steadily maintained a pacific policy, and kept the nation out of many quarrels into which the king's German sympathies might have drawn it. Walpole continued in the ministry during a considerable part of the reign of George II. (1727–1760), and with the same resolute adherence to a pacific policy; and as Cardinal Fleury, the minister of Louis XV., was equally disposed to peace, the relations between Great Britain and France were, on the whole, most amicable; and though the exiled Stuarts often resided in France, no encouragement was given to them by the French government. The outbreak of the war of Maria-Theresa interrupted this state of things. Walpole was still averse to foreign war; but the nation and the king were anxious to support Maria-Theresa—the nation, from a feeling of generous sympathy with her; the king, because he was a German, and feared to lose his Hanoverian electorate. Walpole, therefore, resigned; and his political opponents came into office (1742). During six years, with various changes of administration, Great Britain contributed her share to the war, largely subsidising her allies, and also taking a direct part. This led to a declaration of war between Great Britain and France, and to a series of land

and sea battles between the forces of the two nations. A British and Hanoverian army, led by George II. in person, gained the battle of Dettingen (1743), which the French retrieved by the victory of Fontenoy, gained over a British army led by the Duke of Cumberland (1745). The war extended to the Indian and American colonies of the two countries; and in these distant parts the naval superiority of Britain gave her the advantage. France, resorting to a more direct mode of attack on her adversary, prompted and assisted the famous rebellion under Prince Charles Stuart in 1745, by which the Brunswick dynasty was put in peril; and English regiments were still engaged in crushing the remains of this rebellion among the Scottish clans, when the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle re-established peace between the two countries. Great Britain restored to France some of her colonial settlements, and France agreed to abandon the cause of the Pretender.

147. *The Seven Years' War.*—A brief period of quiet followed the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; and the various countries which had been engaged in the war of the Austrian succession had leisure to attend to matters of domestic interest. Great Britain, though distracted by the parliamentary struggles of political parties, pursued her career as the first maritime power in the world. In France, disputes among the clergy, and between the clergy and philosophers such as Voltaire, occupied the public mind; and notwithstanding the dissoluteness of the court, Louis XV. was extremely popular with his subjects, who used to call him *Louis le Bien-aimé*—Louis the Well-beloved. Under the Emperor Francis and the Empress Maria-Theresa, the various Austrian populations enjoyed the advantages of as good government as was compatible with the subjection of such heterogeneous elements to one rule. Prussia, under a king as active in administration as in war, was rapidly being consolidated into a nation, with laws, literature, arts, and manufactures of its own; while a military organisation was kept up, to enable her at any time to renew her struggle with Austria for the supremacy of Germany. In Spain, the death of Philip V., and the accession of his son Ferdinand VI. (1746–1759), produced

a change for the better in the national policy. Industry and trade, which had languished during the disturbed reign of Philip V., began to revive under the care of able ministers, who devoted their attention to the promotion of the material interests of the country. In Sweden, where a German, Adolphus Frederick, had been elected by the states as the successor of Frederick and Ulrica (1751), a strange civil contest, not unlike that of the Whigs and Tories in England, had grown out of the reformed constitution adopted after the death of Charles XII., and the country was divided into two political factions—the one called the faction of the *Caps;* the other, the faction of the *Hats.* The *Caps* defended the new system of things, and were for maintaining a strict alliance with Russia; the *Hats* hated Russia, and longed for a return of the old days of Swedish glory. Lastly, in Russia, where Anne had been succeeded by her infant grand-nephew Ivan (1740), and he by Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter the Great and Catharine, the spirit of Peter the Great still survived, animating not only the court of St Petersburg, but the whole mass of the Russian population.

148. Such was the state of Europe when, in 1756, the 'Seven Years' War' broke out. The powers who originated the war were Great Britain and Prussia—Great Britain, on account of some disputes with France about the boundaries of their respective possessions in America; Prussia, from the unconquerable desire of Frederick to enlarge the influence of his kingdom on the continent at the expense of Austria. Agreeing to aid and abet each other in the prosecution of their respective objects, so as to carry on what might be called a joint-stock war, the courts of London and Berlin concluded a treaty at Westminster (January 1756), one of the articles of which was, that Frederick should undertake the protection of Hanover against the French and others. To oppose this combination, France entered into an alliance with Austria; and almost for the first time in the history of the world, the houses of Bourbon and Hapsburg consented to co-operate. Most of the German states, including Saxony, adhered to France and Austria; and the alliance

was also joined by Russia and Sweden. Spain, for the time, remained neutral; as also Holland and the Italian powers.

149. The war was simultaneously commenced by Great Britain and Frederick—Great Britain attacking the French in their Indian and American colonies, and resisting them in Hanover; and Frederick leading his Prussians into Saxony and Bohemia, and performing prodigious military feats against hosts of Austrians, Saxons, and Russians. At first, the fortune of the war seemed to be against Great Britain and her Prussian ally. The French took Minorca and Calcutta from the British, beat the Duke of Cumberland out of Hanover, and seized the electorate. They then sent an army of 100,000 men to assist the allies against Frederick. That king, notwithstanding his almost unparalleled efforts, could not singly cope with the armies of France, Austria, Saxony, Sweden, and Russia combined; his victories over one only gave rise to fresh battles with the others; and at last Prussia seemed on the brink of ruin. At this juncture, the accession of a new influence to the counsels of Great Britain turned the tide of fortune. The ill success of the British arms abroad had produced a political crisis at home, and after various changes, the famous William Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, was called to the office of prime-minister (1757). In this magnanimous man the Prussian king found a soul congenial with his own; and for several years these two men—Frederick the Great and William Pitt—were the ruling spirits upon whose energetic activity the conduct of the war depended. The brief ministry of Pitt (1757–1761) was a glorious one in the annals of Britain. His spirit seemed to be breathed into the British navies in all seas, and the British armies in all parts of the world. Hanover was recovered, and the French driven back across the Rhine; Senegal, Goree, and the other settlements of the French in Africa, were seized; in America, the whole of Canada and other possessions were wrested from the French by a series of victories, in one of which the brave General Wolfe lost his life; and in India, the astonishing exploits of Clive

shattered the French power, and transferred the empire of the East to Great Britain. In the midst of these triumphs, George II. died, and was succeeded by his grandson George III. (1760–1820).

150. Spain had hitherto kept aloof from the conflict, but the death of Ferdinand VI., and the accession of his half-brother Don Carlos, already distinguished for his ability on the throne of the Two Sicilies (1759), produced a change in the policy of that nation. An alliance, called *The Family Compact*, was formed between the Bourbons of France and those of Spain, for the purpose of opposing the claims of England to the dominion of the sea (August 1761). Thus Spain was involved in the war; British troops were sent to Portugal to fight the Spaniards, who invaded that country for adhering to Great Britain; and British fleets were sent to conquer the Spanish colonies in the East and West Indies. Meanwhile, Frederick, assisted by subsidies from the British Treasury, was carrying on the unequal war against the allies in Prussia and other parts of Germany. His most formidable enemies were the Russians, who, notwithstanding that he defeated them again and again, obstinately continued the war in obedience to the orders of their empress. Fortunately for Frederick, the Russian empress died in 1762, and was succeeded by her nephew Peter III., who, being a great admirer of Frederick, instantly made a treaty with him, resigned the Russian conquests in Prussia, and even offered to assist Frederick with troops. Peter reigned but a few months, being deposed by a conspiracy of Russian nobles, headed by his own wife Catharine, a German by birth, and a woman of bold, aspiring, and unscrupulous character. Peter died or was poisoned in prison; and the widow was raised to the throne by the acclamations of the army as Catharine II. (1762–1796). Frederick was dubious as to the effect of this change on his relations with Russia, but was relieved by a declaration on the part of Catharine, that her policy was to be one of strict neutrality in the contest then pending.

151. Sweden followed the example of Russia, and the alliance being thus broken up, negotiations were entered

into, which ended in a general pacification at Paris (Feb. 1763). By this peace, which concluded the Seven Years' War, Prussia recovered all her former possessions, and attained a stronger position than ever among the powers of Europe. In other respects, the continental powers resumed almost the exact positions in which they had been at the commencement of the war. Great Britain, however, took care to retain the bulk of her conquests. Restoring to France some of the acquisitions in North America she had made at the expense of that power, she retained Canada, Cape Breton, the islands and coasts of the St Lawrence, and all the territories on the left or eastern bank of the Mississippi, with the exception of New Orleans; of the West India islands taken from France, she retained St Vincent, Dominica, Tobago, and Grenada; in Africa, she retained Senegal; and in India, she retained the political supremacy, but permitted France to hold certain factories and ports for the purposes of trade. To Spain, Great Britain restored Cuba and some other conquests, in return for Florida, Minorca, and certain other territories ceded by Spain.

152. From the year 1763 to the year 1789, no contest of such vast dimensions as the Seven Years' War agitated Europe. Each of the countries concerned in that war proceeded with tolerable steadiness in its own career; and such disturbances of the general peace as did occur, were confined within comparatively narrow limits.

153. In *Spain*, the reign of Charles III., formerly Don Carlos of Naples (1759–1788), was distinguished by liberal and judicious government. Roads and canals were constructed; societies for the improvement of agriculture and manufactures were instituted; the authority of the Inquisition was subjected to limits; and schools of secular learning were established, where principles hostile to that bigotry which had so long characterised the national mind of Spain, were diligently inculcated. In *France*, Louis XV., as he grew older, grew more and more sensual and depraved; his court became a seat of the most disgraceful licentiousness; and while the upper classes of French

society partook to a large extent in the corruptness of the court, and pursued a course of thoughtless enjoyment, the poorer classes in the towns, and the entire body of the peasantry, suffered under all the evils of bad and tyrannical government. It was a relief to the nation when Louis XV., who had long lost his appellation of 'Le Bien-aimé,' died, and was succeeded by his grandson Louis XVI. (1771). Louis XVI., who had married Marie-Antoinette, the daughter of the Empress Maria-Theresa, began his reign under happy auspices; and no one who saw him and his beautiful young queen in the midst of their decorous court, could have anticipated the terrible fate that was in store for them. In the *German Empire*, Austria and Prussia were the leading powers by whose influence and example the other states were governed. The Emperor Francis dying in 1765, was succeeded in the empire by his son Joseph II. (1765–1790), the brother of Marie-Antoinette. His mother, Maria-Theresa, however, survived till 1780; and as she was sovereign of the Austrian dominions in her own right, the affairs of the German Empire, so long as she lived, were managed by her in her son's name. Joseph was a man of very peculiar character. Although invested by his birth and position with despotic power, he had imbibed, in the course of his education, all the most democratic ideas of his time; so that when his mother's death placed him at the head of the *Austrian States*, he began a course of political reforms such as no other ruler of the time would have dared to attempt. He entirely abolished all the remains of the feudal system, decreed absolute religious equality and toleration for all sects, and sought to fuse all the nations subject to Austria into one population, living under a uniform system of law and taxation, and speaking the same German tongue. In his manner of carrying his theories into effect, however, he was harsh, arbitrary, and pedantic; and the consequence was, that there were popular disturbances in almost all parts of his dominions, particularly in Hungary, Bohemia, and the Netherlands. Very different was the conduct of Frederick in *Prussia*. Without pretending, like Joseph of Austria, to the character of a political theorist, the

Prussian king devoted all his energies, after the cessation of the Seven Years' War, to the task of consolidating his kingdom and improving its condition; and when he died in 1786, he bequeathed to his nephew, Frederick-William II. (1786–1797), the sovereignty of a nation twice as large as it was at the period of his own accession, forty-six years before, with an army of 200,000 men, and a treasury of ten millions sterling. Meanwhile, Frederick's ally, *Great Britain*, retained, under George III., the splendid position which it had attained during the ministry of Lord Chatham. In India, the British sovereignty was confirmed by fresh conquests; and in the American continent, the British rule continued to be exercised over the vast acquisitions which had been annexed there to the British crown, until these acquisitions were circumscribed by the result of the American War of Independence (1783). This period of enlarged prowess abroad was one of great political excitement at home, occasioned by the dissemination of popular principles of government, and the opposition of the leading advocates of these principles to the successive ministries who held office during the first thirty-nine years of the reign of George III. On the whole, the progress of public opinion was in favour of those politicians who desired to increase the power of the Commons at the expense of the royal prerogative; and this period of British history is distinguished by the appearance of a new class of statesmen, the chief of whom were Burke, Charles James Fox, and William Pitt the younger, who, though differing among themselves, were all considerably in advance of the politicians of the former generation. In *Sweden*, on the other hand, where the struggles between the Caps and the Hats were not very unlike those between the Whigs and the Tories of Britain, affairs took a different turn. Adolphus Frederick was succeeded in 1771 by his son Gustavus III. (1771–1792), and this young prince signalised the commencement of his reign by abolishing at one blow the constitutional scheme of government established in Sweden on the decease of Charles XII., and restoring

the supremacy of the royal prerogative. The revolution was accomplished by military force in a single day, but without bloodshed. In *Russia*, where no such revolution was necessary, the Empress Catharine II. (1762–1796) ruled with an energy not displayed by any Russian sovereign since Peter the Great. She not only increased the Russian Empire by wars against the Turks and Tatars of the East, but exerted, by means of her ambassadors, a powerful influence on the policy of all the courts of the West. The dissoluteness and unscrupulousness of her private character, combined with her ambition as a ruler, procured for this empress among her contemporaries the name of the 'Semiramis of Russia.' *Denmark*, where Frederick V. had been succeeded by Christian VII. (1766–1808), presented, during the period under notice, no event of greater importance than the rise and fall of an adventurous politician and courtier named Struensee. Originally a physician at Altona, Struensee had succeeded, by his wit and talents, in winning the favour both of the young king, and of his wife Caroline Matilda, a sister of George III. of Great Britain. From post to post, he was at length advanced to the position of prime-minister of Denmark, in which position he shewed himself in many respects an able and liberal administrator. His private character, however, was profligate; and in consequence of certain scandals, the king caused him to be arrested, and brought to trial. He was beheaded at Copenhagen (1772), and the queen, who shared his downfall, was sent into exile at Hanover.

154. In the foregoing enumeration, no mention has been made of *Poland*. One transaction, however, pertaining to the history of this unhappy country, throws almost every other event of the period into the shade. This was the famous *first partition of Poland* by the three neighbouring powers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria. The circumstances of this atrocious act were as follow:—

155. Augustus III., king of Poland, died in 1763, the year in which the Seven Years' War was concluded; and, as usual, the country was convulsed by disputes as to who should be his successor. Russia had

possessed the paramount influence in Poland during the last two reigns; and the Empress Catharine succeeded in procuring the election of Stanislas Poniatowski, a Polish nobleman, who had won her favour while acting as ambassador from Poland at St Petersburg. Scarcely had Poniatowski begun to reign, when a vehement controversy arose between the Catholic party in Poland and the *Dissidents*, under which designation were included not only the Protestants, but also the adherents of the Greek or Eastern Church, of whom there were considerable numbers in Lithuania and other parts of Poland adjoining Russia. The controversy was carried on with the utmost acerbity on both sides—the Russian empress and the king of Prussia aiding the Dissidents. At length, in 1768, an act was passed by the Polish Diet, making many concessions to the Dissidents. This act, however, was accompanied by others, giving to Russia such extensive rights of interference with the affairs of Poland, as virtually to destroy the Polish nationality. Accordingly, an anti-Russian league was formed by a large number of the Polish nobles. To crush this league, Russian forces were poured into Poland, which was subjected for several years to all the horrors of foreign invasion, combined with civil war. In their despair, the Poles had recourse to the Porte, and stirred up the Turks to a war against the Russians. Neither the Turks nor the Poles were a match for the Russians; and in the year 1772, the Porte was obliged to conclude a peace with Russia, and leave Poland to its fate. That fate was a sad one. Frederick the Great of Prussia had, in the course of the war, suggested the idea of the dismemberment of Poland, as the only solution of the difficulties occasioned by the existence of such an anarchical country in the east of Europe. The idea pleased the unscrupulous Russian empress, and it was also favourably entertained by the court of Vienna. Maria-Theresa, indeed, had some qualms of conscience respecting the lawfulness of such an act as that proposed; but she was persuaded to agree to it by the arguments of her son, the philosophic Joseph. Accordingly, after much

negotiation, a plan was drawn up between Russia, Prussia, and Austria, for cutting off from Poland about one-fourth part of her territories, to be divided in certain proportions between the three contracting powers. It was in vain that the patriotic Poles protested against so monstrous an outrage on their national rights, and on that balance of power which was supposed to be a fundamental principle in the politics of Europe. Their protests were of no avail against the united strength of the three courts; and after some claims had been put forth to give an air of legality to the proceeding, the dismemberment of Poland was consummated by a treaty at Warsaw in September 1773—Russia taking all the territories between the Dwina, the Dnieper, and the Drutsch; Prussia taking the district of the Netze, and the whole of Polish Prussia, with the exception of the towns of Dantzic and Thorn; and Austria taking Galicia and Lodomiria. The Polish Diet was compelled to ratify this dismemberment, which it did by a majority of votes. The other powers of Europe, including Great Britain and France, looked on and saw the dismemberment effected without stirring a finger to prevent it.

156. Poland, reduced now to three-fourths of her former extent, entered at this period on a new epoch of her history. The powers who had effected her dismemberment had taken care, while guaranteeing the integrity of the state in its reduced dimensions, to introduce such changes into its constitution as should prevent it from attempting to recover what had been lost. The same Diet of 1775 which had ratified the partition, had curtailed the power of the king, so as almost entirely to abolish it, and had transferred the real authority to a council of thirty-six lay and ecclesiastical members. Still, under all disadvantages, the Poles, as if taught wisdom by misfortune, began to shew a spirit of union as well as resolution to improve the condition of their country, such as they had never before exhibited. The king himself, aided by able and patriotic individuals, of whom the most active was a nobleman named Zamoyski, proposed and carried a series of admirable

measures for the promotion of public education, the encouragement of industry and literature, and the amelioration of the condition of the serfs. Feeling that the root of the evil was the absurd constitution which Poland had pertinaciously clung to for so many centuries, and which the Diet of 1775 had only modified for the worse, the patriots began in 1786 to prepare a scheme for converting the country into a hereditary monarchy, with institutions more in harmony with the wants and ideas of the time. They were engaged in this work when the French Revolution broke out.

157. There are one or two countries which have been left out of the preceding narrative of the general history of Europe from 1648 to 1789, or have been alluded to only incidentally. It is necessary now to turn to these countries, lying, as it were, out of the main road, in order to notice such facts relating to them as may complete our view of the state of Europe in 1789. They are—Holland, Switzerland, Portugal, and Italy.

158. Holland.—The independence of the Seven Provinces having been formally acknowledged by the Treaty of Westphalia, William II., who was then stadtholder, and whose marriage with a daughter of Charles I. of Great Britain seems to have infected him with absolutist principles, made every effort to subvert the republican constitution of the state, and change his stadtholderate into a hereditary royalty. In this, however, he failed; and on his death in 1650, the Dutch suffered the stadtholderate to remain vacant, refusing to appoint to that office a posthumous son by William's widow, born shortly after his decease. Accordingly, from 1650 to 1672, the affairs of the Provinces were managed by the states-general. During this period, the Dutch were involved in wars with Great Britain, occasioned by the commercial rivalry of the two nations. At the conclusion of one of these wars (1654), Cromwell exacted a promise from the states-general, that they would not revive the stadtholderate in favour of the young Prince of Orange, or any of his descendants. The reason of this hostility of the English Republic to the

Orange family, was the relationship of that family to the exiled Stuarts, the young prince being the grandson of Charles I., and the nephew of Charles II. After the restoration of the Stuarts in Great Britain, however, the adherents of the Orange family gained strength in Holland, and a party arose favourable to the revival of the stadtholderate. It met with a vehement opposition from a republican party, at the head of which were two brothers named De Witt. During the supremacy of these brothers, a new war broke out between the Republic on the one side, and Great Britain, in alliance with Louis XIV. of France, on the other. The conduct of the young Prince of Orange during this war was such as to gain for him the affections of the Dutch, and to prove that, though he had the blood of the Stuarts in his veins, he was a stanch friend of liberty. Accordingly, in 1672, when the invasion of the Provinces by Louis XIV. had thrown the Dutch into a paroxysm of alarm, a revolution occurred; the two De Witts, who were accused of having sacrificed the safety of their country to their republican prejudices, were murdered by the mob; and William III., at the age of twenty-two years, was raised by acclamation to the stadtholderate. In this position he signalised himself by the indomitable courage with which he maintained the cause of liberty and Protestantism against Louis XIV. His marriage with Mary, the daughter of the Duke of York, afterwards James II. of England, strengthened his relations with that country, and prepared the way for his eventual accession to the British throne in 1689. During the rest of his life, in his double capacity as king of Great Britain and stadtholder of the Dutch Republic, he stood forth as the leader of the great European alliance against the French monarch. When he died (1702), the connection between Great Britain and Holland was severed; and as he left no children, the Dutch again relapsed into republicanism, and abolished the stadtholderate. This did not prevent them from performing an energetic part in the war of the Spanish Succession; at the conclusion of which, by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), the Republic, freed from the fear of Louis XIV., and strengthened against future

invasion by the acquisition of a strong barrier of frontier towns towards the south and west, found itself at a high pitch of prosperity. For thirty years this state of things continued; the Republic diligently enlarging its commerce and its colonies, and affording, as before, an asylum to refugees and sectaries from other nations. On the outbreak of the war of the Austrian Succession, Holland, in alliance with Great Britain, took up the cause of Maria-Theresa. This led to threats of the invasion of the Republic by the French and their allies; and the Dutch, again alarmed, had recourse to their old expedient for putting the country in a good state of defence, and revived the stadtholderate. They elected William IV., the son of the person who had inherited the principality of Orange, and other possessions of the House of Nassau, after the death of William III. He bequeathed the stadtholderate to his son, William V., who married a niece of Frederick the Great of Prussia. During the Seven Years' War, Holland remained neutral. After that war, her commercial jealousy led her into a war with Great Britain, at the same time that the anti-Orange or Republican party renewed their attempts to abolish the stadtholderate. They succeeded temporarily in 1787, when the states-general deprived William V. of all his dignities; but the Prussian king, Frederick-William II., interfered in behalf of his relative; and the States were obliged to restore him.

159. SWITZERLAND.—The history of Switzerland from 1648 to 1789, presents no events of general historical importance. Enjoying their own liberties, the confederate cantons scrupulously maintained a position of neutrality in all the great contests that agitated Europe during this period; although the Swiss continued to lend their services individually as mercenary soldiers to any power that chose to employ them. Some internal dissensions, however, occurred during this period to break the tranquil course of Swiss history. In a confederacy composed partly of Protestant and partly of Catholic cantons, occasions of religious dispute were naturally of frequent occurrence; and on several such occasions—and particularly in 1653 and 1712—the controversy became so warm, that it was

only decided in the field by a war between the Catholic and the Protestant cantons. After 1712, no religious war of any consequence broke out; and the Swiss not only remained in the possession of their own religious freedom, but, like the Dutch, afforded a refuge to the persecuted sectaries of other countries. Many Piedmontese especially sought refuge in Switzerland.

160. PORTUGAL.—John IV., the founder of the Braganza dynasty in Portugal (see § 56), reigned sixteen years (1640–1656). His immediate successors were his sons Alphonso VI. (1656–1668) and Pedro II. (1668–1706). The reigns of these first three sovereigns of the Braganza line were occupied chiefly in wars with Spain for the complete establishment of Portuguese independence, and the recovery of Brazil, which the Spaniards endeavoured to retain. This antagonism to Spain led Portugal, though a Catholic country, to form alliances with Great Britain, Holland, and other states also at war with Spain; and it was during the reign of Pedro II. that those close commercial relations were established between Portugal and Great Britain, which have since bound the two countries together by ties of common interest. The most important of these early commercial treaties between Britain and Portugal was one arranged in 1703 by Mr Methuen, the British ambassador at Lisbon. In the war of the Spanish Succession, Portugal followed the lead of Great Britain, and took part against Louis XIV. John or Joam V., the successor of Pedro II. (1706–1750), was a prince of moderate abilities, but of good disposition; and during his reign, partly in consequence of British influence, much was done to increase the prosperity of Portugal, and to reform its administration. Trade and manufactures were encouraged, schools were instituted, and restrictions were laid on the enormous powers of the Inquisition. The process of reform thus begun was carried on with far more vigour during the reign of José or Joseph I. (1750–1777), whose minister, the Marquis of Pombal, was a man of resolute character and enlightened ideas. Pombal devoted all his energies to schemes of internal reform. One great disaster which happened in his time, afforded him a melancholy

opportunity for the exercise of his powers as an administrator. This was the terrible earthquake of 1755, by which a great part of Lisbon was laid in ruins, and upwards of 15,000 persons perished. Pombal was engaged for several years in the repair of the ravages caused by this calamity; but the latter part of his administration was occupied with general reforms in the laws, the police, and the educational system of Portugal. On the accession of Maria Francesca to the Portuguese throne (1777), Pombal was dismissed from office and disgraced; and the country relapsed into that condition of intolerant rule from which he had striven to raise it. Still, the beneficial influence of many of his measures remained.

161. ITALY.—We left the Italian peninsula in 1648 politically broken up into the following parts:—*Naples, Sicily,* and *Sardinia,* forming part of the Spanish Empire; the *Papal States;* the *Duchies of Parma and Piacenza,* belonging to the Farnese family; the *Grand-duchy of Tuscany,* held by the Medici family; the *Duchy of Milan,* still languishing under Spanish rule, and comprehending the greater part of Lombardy; the republics of *Genoa* and *Venice;* and the *Dukedom of Savoy and Piedmont.* The chief facts in the history of some of these states from 1648 to 1789, have been necessarily involved in the narrative already given of the affairs of France and Spain during that period. It has been seen how, on the conclusion of the war of the Spanish Succession by the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, all the Italian dependencies of Spain were taken away from her, and bestowed on new powers —the House of Austria obtaining the Duchy of Milan, Naples, and Sardinia; while Sicily, and one or two portions of Lombard territory formerly annexed to the Milanese Duchy, were given to Victor Amadeus II., Duke of Savoy. It has been seen how, in consequence of the subsequent wars of Cardinal Alberoni for the restoration of the Spanish supremacy in Italy, this arrangement had been modified (1719)—the Duke of Savoy giving up Sicily to Austria, and receiving Sardinia in exchange, with the right to assume the royal title; and a branch of the Spanish Bourbons being substituted in Parma and Piacenza

for the Farnese sovereigns. It has been seen, finally, how, in consequence of subsequent wars between Spain and Austria, this arrangement was also modified (1736)—the branch of the Bourbons established in Parma and Piacenza resigning these duchies to Austria, but acquiring by conquest the far more important sovereignty of the Two Sicilies. The result, accordingly, of these successive arrangements, is that, from the last-mentioned date, Italy is to be considered as divided not as above, but as follows: —the *Kingdom of Naples and Sicily*, or of the *Two Sicilies*, under a branch of the Spanish Bourbons; the *Papal States;* the *Grand-duchy of Tuscany; Austrian Italy*, comprehending the greater part of Lombardy, with Parma, Piacenza, &c.; the republics of *Genoa* and *Venice;* and the *Kingdom of Sardinia*, including Savoy, Piedmont, &c.

162. *Kingdom of Naples and Sicily.*—Carlos, the son of Philip V. of Spain, and the founder of the Bourbon dynasty in Naples, reigned over his new kingdom, as Charles VII., till 1759, when the death of his half-brother, Ferdinand VI., called him to the throne of Spain. As he could not, consistently with European treaties, hold both kingdoms, he resigned that of Naples and Sicily to his son Ferdinand, then a child of eight years of age, leaving the regency in the hands of a minister, named Tanucci. Both Charles VII. and Tanucci were wise and moderate rulers; and during the reign of Charles, and the early part of that of his successor Ferdinand, Naples and Sicily enjoyed a prosperity to which they had been long strangers, and the Neapolitans and Sicilians came to be recognised, and to recognise themselves, less as an integral part of the general Italian population, than as a separate European state and nation. Tanucci continued to govern Naples and Sicily, as the minister of Ferdinand, till 1777, when he was displaced, and an English naval officer named Acton took his place. Ferdinand had reigned thirty years when the French Revolution broke out (1789), and the remainder of his unusually long reign (1759–1825) was checkered by the consequences of that great event.

163. *The Papal States.*—Thirteen popes in succession

ruled over the Papal States between 1648 and 1789—the average reign of a pope being shorter than that of a secular sovereign, in consequence of the advanced age of most popes at the time of their accession. Few of these popes did anything worthy of record. As secular sovereigns of Central Italy, they continued to govern their Roman subjects according to the system established by their predecessors, employing cardinals as their ministers, and inferior ecclesiastics in all subordinate civil offices. Meanwhile, their authority as spiritual heads of Christendom was little more than nominal. Europe had passed away from beneath their hands; and though they were still recognised and addressed as popes by Catholic governments like those of France, Spain, and Portugal, they exercised little real control over the actions even of these governments, and were often obliged to act as these governments required them. Pope Clement XIV. (1758–1774), whose surname was Ganganelli, was a man of extraordinary acquirements, and of benevolent character. He pursued a policy of conciliation towards foreign powers, suitable to the altered relations of the papacy to the rest of the world; and this policy was followed by his successor Pius VI. (1774–1800).

164. *Tuscany.*—The two last dukes of the House of Medici, Cosmo III. (1670–1723) and John Gastone (1723–1737), did not inherit the talents of their predecessors; and during their reigns the prosperity of Tuscany declined. On the extinction of the Medici line, by the death of John Gastone without heirs, the sovereignty was bestowed, by an agreement among the European powers, upon Francis, Duke of Lorraine, the husband of the Austrian princess, Maria-Theresa. Being called to the throne of Austria and the German Empire on the death of his father-in-law, in 1745, Francis resided chiefly at Vienna, and neglected the affairs of Tuscany. On his death in 1765, the grand-duchy descended to his second son, Peter Leopold (1765–1790), whose reign is still remembered in Tuscany as a period of peace, order, and enlightened legislation.

165. *Genoa and Venice.*—During the latter part of the seventeenth century, the Venetians carried on a brave struggle with the Turks for the possession of portions of

Greece; but amid the great European contests of the time of Louis XIV. and his successors, both they and the Genoese found their safety in an obscure neutrality. Both republics pursued a quiet, and, considering the decline of their commerce, a tolerably prosperous existence under their respective doges and councils of state. The constitution of Venice was by far the more exclusive and aristocratic; and so effectually was the old inquisitorial system of rule kept up in that state, that popular tumults were unknown, and a few police-servants, with black staves in their hands, were able to control the largest crowds. It became a maxim in Venice, that 'religion ought to be little talked about; politics, not at all.' Yet, notwithstanding this restraint on religious and political freedom, there was no city the inhabitants of which led a more easy, gay, and luxurious life than those of Venice. In this respect, they were perhaps better off than the Genoese, who, though their government was more open and liberal, were naturally of a sterner, more thoughtful, less joyous, and more parsimonious character.

166. A somewhat interesting episode in the history of Genoa during the eighteenth century, is afforded by the little island of *Corsica*. This island, inhabited by a rude people of the Italian stock, had, after various contests for it between the Pisans and the Genoese, fallen under the government of the latter during the days of their commercial greatness; and not a few of these had settled in Corsica. The rigour of the Genoese government, however, and the turbulent character of the islanders, were continually provoking insurrections, which were repressed in the harshest manner. One such insurrection happened in 1729, and notwithstanding that the Genoese obtained the assistance of the German emperor to quell it, such was the obstinacy of the islanders, that they continued the revolt under various leaders till 1734, when they declared their independence. A community so small, and so unsophisticated as that of Corsica, presented an attractive field for adventurers of various nations; and in 1736 one such adventurer, of Westphalian descent but French birth, named Theodore Baron of Neuhoff, landed in the island,

and so dazzled the people by the magnificence of his manners, that they chose him for their king. For several months, King Theodore kept up the war with the Genoese; but money failing him, he quitted the island to raise supplies among the Dutch and English capitalists. He made some attempts to return to the island, but never succeeded, and died in London in 1756, in a state of great destitution, after having been for some time in prison for debt. Meanwhile, the Genoese had called in the assistance of the French, and, with their aid, quelled the revolt. No sooner had the French left the island, however, than the Corsicans again revolted; and, being assisted by British ships, again drove out the Genoese (1745). For about ten years, they maintained their independence under native chiefs, whose dissensions, however, enabled the Genoese still to keep up their footing in the island. At length (1755), a brave and able man, named Pasquale Paoli, a son of one of the leaders of the first revolt, obtained the supreme command; and under his government Corsica presented a more united appearance, and began to become prosperous and strong. The Genoese, fearful of losing the island altogether, again called in French assistance; and at last, in order to get rid of so troublesome a dependency, they sold the sovereignty of it to the crown of France (May 15, 1768). The Corsicans remonstrated against this transaction, which handed them over, Italians as they were in blood and in language, to a foreign state. They resisted the French armies which were sent to enforce the bargain; but after an obstinate struggle, the French thoroughly conquered the island, and took possession of it; and Paoli and some of his companions sought refuge in England (1769). Subsequent events attached great significance to this annexation of Corsica to France—an incident which at the time excited little interest, except among a few ardent men in London, like Dr Johnson's biographer, Boswell, who were concerned that the islanders should have failed in their struggle for independence, and shewed their concern by courteous attentions to the exiled chief, Paoli.

167. *The Kingdom of Sardinia.*—The acquisition of the island of Sardinia, and with it, of the honour of being

admitted among the royal dynasties of Europe, was the consummation of a long series of politic acts on the part of the ambitious and warlike princes of the House of Savoy. Victor Amadeus II., in whose reign this piece of good fortune happened (1718), found himself sovereign of a kingdom whose position in Europe, if not its territorial extent, marked it out for an important career. This kingdom included, besides Sardinia, the ancient family possessions of Savoy and Piedmont, and had for its capital the fine city of Turin. After an active and efficient reign, he bequeathed it to his son Charles Emanuel III. (1730–1773), who, inheriting the military and politic genius of his house, contrived, by dexterous participation in the wars of his time, to increase it by the acquisition of some districts on the rivers Po and Tessin. He was also an able administrator; and when he died, he left to his son Victor Amadeus III. (1773–1796) a compact and well-ordered monarchy, a full treasury, and a standing army reckoned as one of the finest in Europe.

168. A peculiarity which distinguished the kingdom of Sardinia or Piedmont from the rest of Italy was, that here alone was there to be found any considerable body of native Italian Protestants. Piedmont had been one of the countries in which, in the thirteenth century, the Waldensian and Albigensian tenets had taken root; and after the terrible persecution of the Albigenses of Southern France in that century, the relics of this singular people still lingered among the valleys of the Piedmontese Alps. In one alpine district, indeed, there seems to have been, from time immemorial, an aboriginal sect of dissenters from the Church of Rome, who, under the name of *Vaudois*, retained a primitive form of Christianity; and it is a matter of dispute whether Peter Waldo, the supposed founder of the Waldensian sect, may not have merely disseminated in France doctrines he had learned from these Vaudois. In this case, the name *Waldo* could but designate the fact. Be this as it may, these Vaudois were known as a heretical sect in Piedmont long before the Reformation of Luther, and were subjected to frequent persecutions after their district had come into the possession of the

Dukes of Savoy. When the Reformation was preached in Germany and Switzerland, the Vaudois welcomed it as in the main a movement in favour of opinions such as they themselves held; and from that period they may be considered as merged in the general body of European Protestants. In no part of the world was Protestantism more cruelly persecuted than among the valleys of Piedmont. The successive dukes, either of their own accord, or instigated by the popes and the Inquisition, seemed resolved to extirpate their Vaudois subjects; and during the reign of one of them, Charles Emanuel II. (1655), Piedmont was the scene of a terrible massacre of Protestants, which spread horror through the whole of Europe, and called forth a vigorous interference on the part of Cromwell and other Protestant rulers. Even after Piedmont became a kingdom, the relics of these Vaudois remained in it, and constituted a peculiar element in the population of that part of Italy, the influence of which is to be found to this day.

169. Having thus traced the history of each of the European states, and their political connections, from 1648 to 1789, we have only to notice one other fact appertaining to none of them in particular, but to European society in general—the proscription and suppression of the Jesuit order in the eighteenth century.

170. From the middle of the sixteenth century, as has been already mentioned, whatever was most intense and zealous in the spirit of Roman Catholicism was represented by the Jesuits. While a portion of the members of this order became missionaries to distant lands, propagating Catholic Christianity with wonderful perseverance among the Indians, the Chinese, and the Japanese on the one side, and among the native tribes of America on the other, the main body of them remained in Europe, distributed through both Catholic and Protestant countries, and labouring assiduously in the great design of bringing peoples and governments back to an implicit obedience to the papacy. In the accomplishment of this design, they engaged in all kinds of business, from the civil

government of states to the education of youth. In Protestant countries, where the name of a Jesuit was associated with all that was dark and suspicious, they were obliged to live in disguise and obscurity, as chaplains in Catholic families, and the like; but in Catholic countries, they were honoured, and often rose to high stations. In France, where they had to contend with the Gallicanism of Bossuet and the national French clergy, as well as with the peculiar form of Catholicism called Jansenism, their power, though great, was comparatively limited; but in Spain, Portugal, and Italy, they were all-powerful, both in the state and in the church. It was felt that on their efforts depended the chance of a restoration of the papacy to its ancient prerogatives; and, accordingly, they and the popes maintained a firm alliance.

171. Towards the middle of the eighteenth century, the Jesuits were at the height of their power. The order counted at that time many thousands of regularly enrolled members, both lay and clerical, scattered through all lands, and all obeying the orders of their general, who resided in Rome. They had hundreds of colleges and seminaries in all the countries of Europe, besides their missionary stations in the East and in America. About this time, however, they began to fall into disfavour even in Catholic countries. In addition to that Protestantism which they had contended with from the first, there arose about this time a new influence hostile to their rule. The free-thinking spirit both in politics and in religion, which became prevalent about this period, and which spread from Great Britain and France into other countries, affecting particularly the educated and governing classes, naturally took the form of an anti-sacerdotal movement; and as the Jesuits were the most prominent representatives of priestly power, they were the first to suffer. The first blow at the order was struck in Portugal, during the ministry of the Marquis of Pombal. This minister, whose schemes of material reform were thwarted by the Jesuits, conceived a violent antipathy to them; and availing himself of various pretexts, he at last (1759) persuaded King Joseph to decree their expulsion from Portugal, as a body of men

whose presence in the country was incompatible with good order and progressive civilisation. The order was executed with much harshness; the Jesuits of Portugal and Brazil being hastily collected and shipped off to Italy, where they landed in a state of great destitution. This peremptory procedure of the Portuguese statesman was soon followed by the governments of other states. In 1764, the society of Jesuits of France was suppressed by a decree of Louis XV., amid the applauses of the courtiers, the philosophers, and a great portion of the people. In 1767, a similar decree of Charles III. proscribed Jesuitism in Spain, and expelled the Jesuits in a most summary manner from all the Spanish dominions, including the American colonies. In 1768, Sardinia, Naples, and other Italian states followed the example; and at last in 1773, after long hesitation, the suppression of the order was consummated by a bull of Pope Clement XIV., in which his holiness, while acknowledging the services rendered to the papacy by Loyola and his disciples, yet declared that European opinion being now so hostile to the order, its longer duration would but bring forth the fruits of discord, and do harm. The older brethren in the papal states were permitted to remain in their houses, but no longer as professed Jesuits; and Ricci, the general of the order, was imprisoned in the castle of St Angelo, where he died in 1775. From that period, Jesuitism was obliged to maintain itself in secret wherever it continued to exist at all.

172. It is necessary, before concluding this chapter, to turn our attention from Europe itself to those great regions of the Asiatic East and the American West, which, though entered upon by European enterprise during the preceding period (1519–1648), only became historically important, as offsets of Europe, during the present (1648–1789).

173. THE EAST.—Here, as before, we have to attend to four separate regions—the *Ottoman* or *Turkish Empire; Persia; India;* and *China*. (1.) THE TURKISH EMPIRE. —Nine sultans reigned in succession over the Turkish

Empire between 1648 and 1789. Few of these were men of any ability; most of them led idle and sensual lives at Constantinople, leaving the administration of the Turkish dominions to the local pashas, and the general government to their grand-viziers. Insurrections of the Janizaries were continually occurring, by some of which the sultans were deposed and lost their lives. Still, during this period, the Turks kept up their ancient aggressive spirit, and engaged, as we have seen when narrating the events of German, Polish, Russian, and Italian history, in a series of wars for the maintenance and extension of their frontiers. The first of these wars was one with the Venetians, for the possession of the island of Candia. This war lasted from 1645 to 1667, and terminated in the capture of Candia by the Turks, after a bloody resistance. Then ensued a complex war against Austria, Poland, and Russia, having for its aim the extension of the Turkish Empire westward over the territories of these powers. This war—the last great enterprise of the Turks against Christendom—was carried on at first with great success. Their defeat by Sobieski under the walls of Vienna (1683) turned the tide; and a league against them having been formed by Austria, Poland, Russia, and Venice, they were gradually driven from Hungary, and after a series of reverses, compelled to agree to a peace imposed upon them by the allies (1699). By this peace, called the Peace of Carlowitz, Hungary, Transylvania, and Slavonia Proper, were secured to Austria, the Turkish garrisons evacuating them; Poland was secured in the possession of all her former territories; Azof and other districts on the Black Sea were ceded to Russia; and the Morea, as far as the Isthmus of Corinth, was ceded to Venice. This peace, so humiliating to the Turks, produced a convulsion in the empire; the reigning sultan, Mustapha II., was deposed by the Janizaries; and various efforts were made by his successor to recover what had been lost. The Morea was wrested from the Venetians (1715); but the attempts made against the Austrians led only to new reverses. The most formidable enemy of the Turks, however, from this period was Russia. Peter the Great,

in chalking out the future policy of the nation which he had raised to so high a position in Europe, prescribed for it a course of warfare and conquest against the Ottoman Empire; and his successors strictly followed his example, and obeyed his injunctions. Various wars were carried on by Russia, sometimes alone, and sometimes in alliance with Austria, against the Ottomans. The most memorable of these wars was that which signalised the commencement of the reign of Catharine II. (1768), when that sovereign began her interference with the affairs of Poland. The Turks, foreseeing in the ruin of Poland a new danger to themselves, made war upon Russia to avert the catastrophe. Their efforts were in vain; and in the year following that of the dismemberment of Poland (1774), they were obliged to consent to the Peace of Kainardji, by which Russia gained not only new accessions of territory at the expense of Turkey, but also the free navigation of the Black Sea, and a right of protectorate over all the Greek Christians in the Turkish Empire. From this time dates the enormous influence exerted by Russia on the internal affairs of Turkey. The Russian empress, disregarding the strict terms of the Peace of Kainardji, occupied the Crimea (1784) and other districts which that peace had erected into independent Tatar states; and thus gradually extended the boundaries of Russia along the coasts of the Black Sea. It was even proposed by the empress, in conjunction with the Austrian emperor Joseph, to dismember the Turkish Empire, as Poland had been dismembered. Perceiving this intention, the reigning sultan, Abdul-Ahmed (1774–1789) took up arms; and at the time of the French Revolution, a violent Austro-Russian war was going on against the Turks. (2.) PERSIA. —In this country, the Sophi dynasty continued to rule in the usual despotic style of Eastern monarchs till the year 1722, when the Afghans, a warlike tribe from north-western India, who had already several times invaded Persia, deposed the reigning Sophi king, Hoosein-Mirza (1694–1722), and placed their own chief, Mahmood, on the throne. Mahmood reigned three years (1722–1725), and bequeathed the throne to another Afghan, named Ashraf

(1725–1729). Meanwhile, Tamasp, the son of Hoosein, with a band of Persians who still adhered to him, kept possession of Armenia, and made war against the usurping Afghans. Among his adherents was a man named Nadir Kouli, originally a shepherd, who displayed extraordinary abilities. Acting for Tamasp, Nadir carried on war so successfully against the Afghans, that they were obliged to call in the assistance of the Turks and the Russians, ceding certain provinces of Persia near the Caspian to these powers as payment for their aid. Nothing, however, could resist the energetic strategy of Nadir; and in 1730, the Afghans were expelled from Persia, and Tamasp restored to his father's throne. Nadir continued, however, to be the real chief. He governed the country through Tamasp till 1732, when, offended by some acts of pusillanimity on the part of his master in a war against the Turks, he put an end to the Sophi dynasty, and took the sovereignty into his own hands. The reign of Nadir Shah (1732–1747) was a brilliant period in the annals of Persia. Not only did he recover the provinces that had been ceded to Turkey and Russia; he extended the boundaries of Persia by warlike expeditions eastward into India, and northward among the Tatars of Central Asia. His invasion of India in 1739 was one of the most memorable of the many invasions of that great country. He took Delhi, and gained spoil estimated at the value of thirty millions sterling. Contented with this, he allowed the Great Mogul to retain his empire, with the exception of such parts of it as lay beyond the Indus, all of which, as well as Afghanistan, he annexed to Persia. In this invasion, Nadir exhibited far less cruelty than was customary with conquerors of the Oriental type; but towards the latter part of his reign he became liable to a species of insane fury, which manifested itself in acts of dreadful ferocity. He put out the eyes of his own son, Riza Kouli, and massacred his subjects by thousands. These enormities led to his assassination by his officers in 1747. Immediately after his death, his empire fell to pieces—the Afghans throwing off the yoke, and starting up as an independent kingdom; while Persia Proper became a prey to numerous rival

adventurers of Persian or Turkoman birth. This state of anarchy favoured the aggressions of Russia; and in the reign of the Empress Catharine II., portions of Northern Persia were occupied by Russian troops, and became outposts of the Russian Empire. (3.) INDIA.—The condition of this great peninsula at the middle of the seventeenth century was that of a population of upwards of one hundred millions—four-fifths of whom were Hindoos, and one-fifth Mohammedans—divided into numerous states, governed by rajahs and soubahdars, all of whom owed nominal allegiance to the Mogul emperor, who resided with his court at Delhi. The authority of this emperor was very slight. The last Great Mogul who exercised it with any vigour was Aurungzebe (1659–1707), whose chief characteristic as a ruler was his zeal for the Mohammedan faith, and his activity in enforcing it to the disadvantage of the Hindoos. After his death, India fell to pieces. In one province, the Rajpoots, in another the Mahrattas, in another the Sikhs, in another the Afghans, sprang up as ruling powers; and though the dignity of the Great Mogul was not abolished, the various princes on whom it was conferred, by the military chieftains who chanced to possess the provinces around Delhi, were mere puppets, set up and dethroned at pleasure. It was in these circumstances that the Persian conqueror, Nadir Shah, invaded India. After his death, the Afghans and the Mahrattas contended for the possession of India; and the Afghan sultan, proving the superior, bestowed the Mogul sovereignty on Shah Allum II. (1761). Meanwhile, however, a new power, stronger than either the Afghans or the Mahrattas, was rapidly establishing itself among the medley of Indian dynasties and principalities, and preparing to submit them all to a more efficient control. Since the discovery of the sea-route to India by the Cape of Good Hope, the East had become a scene of enterprise for all the great commercial nations of Europe. The Portuguese, as the discoverers of the route, led the way. They acquired trading-posts on the western coast of India, and in Ceylon (1520–1580). They were followed by the Dutch, who, establishing themselves first in Java and other islands of the East Indies, gradually dispossessed

the Portuguese on the Indian continent, and left them nothing but Goa (1595). Next appeared the English, represented by an East India Company, founded in the reign of James I. Contending with the Dutch for the commercial supremacy of the East, the emissaries of this company gradually formed settlements on various parts of the Indian coast, acquiring them sometimes by purchase, and sometimes by other means. Lastly, in the reign of Louis XIV. (1664), the French formed an East India Company, and began to form similar settlements. The result was, that in the beginning of the eighteenth century, the eastern and western coasts of India were studded here and there with small colonies of Europeans—Portuguese, Dutch, English, and French—each colony consisting of trading-agents, with a few soldiers sent out by the home governments to protect them. Whenever a European war broke out, the warfare, of course, extended to these distant outposts of Europe—the British in India fighting against the French or the Dutch in India, whenever it was known that the British government at home had declared war against France or Holland. Accordingly, during the two great wars which agitated Europe in the middle of the eighteenth century—the war of the Austrian Succession (1741–1748), and the Seven Years' War (1756–1763)—India was a scene of perpetual hostility between the British and the French, each party trying to obtain possession of the settlements of the other, and for that purpose forming alliances with the native rajahs and soubahdars in their vicinity. At first, it seemed as if the French would drive the British out of India. Led by a brave and able man, Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry, who had formed the design of establishing a French Empire in India, they seized many of the English posts, and annexed a considerable Indian territory to the French crown. The victories of the Englishman, Clive, and others, retrieved these losses; and after a series of brilliant, though often unscrupulous actions, the British became the paramount power in India (1765). The details of this extraordinary achievement, belong to British history; suffice it to say, that in 1773,

so numerous and extensive were the British possessions in India, that it was found necessary by the government to make arrangements with the East India Company for their future administration. Accordingly, in that year, it was resolved that all the acquired territories—then divided into the three Presidencies of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay—should be placed under one supreme government, exercised by a governor-general and a council, resident at Calcutta. The person selected, under this new system, as the first governor-general of India, was Mr Warren Hastings, a man who had already greatly distinguished himself in the civil service of the company, and was then forty-one years of age. Under his able and daring rule, the work begun by Clive was continued with increasing success; and partly by cunning interference in the politics of the native states, partly by wars against refractory native potentates—of whom the most obstinate was Hyder Ali, sovereign of Mysore—the supremacy of the British power in India was extended and confirmed. (4.) CHINA.—In this vast country, the dynasty of the Tatar or Mantchoo emperors, continued to rule. During the reigns of some of them, Jesuit missionary stations were established in China.

174. *European Possessions in America.*—The new world of America, discovered by Columbus in 1497, was gradually appropriated by those European powers which had sufficient enterprise to send forth colonies for the purpose. The Spaniards, as the first discoverers, claimed the entire continent as their property, but were obliged eventually to restrict themselves to such parts as they had taken care actually to occupy, leaving the rest to other nations. Accordingly, before the close of the seventeenth century, America came to be divided among the various European powers as follows:—(1.) *The Spanish Possessions and Colonies.*—These included St Domingo, Cuba, and the other more important West Indian islands discovered and colonised by Columbus and his immediate successors (1497–1512); Mexico, California, and other parts of Central America, colonised by Cortez and others from the West Indies (1517–1530); and almost all the countries of South America—such as Peru, conquered

by Pizarro in 1583, and Chili, Bolivia, Paraguay, &c., gradually overrun in the course of the sixteenth century. In some of these possessions, the Spanish colonists mingled with the native Indian inhabitants, producing a mixed population—which, however, adopted the religion, the language, and the manners of Spain. African negroes likewise constituted a part of the population in all the colonies. They had been imported originally into the Spanish West Indies as slaves, to perform work for which the Indian aborigines of these islands were unfit; and from the West Indies they had spread into the other colonies. (2.) *The Portuguese Possessions.*—These consisted, in the main, of that large portion of South America called the Brazils, discovered in 1500 by Alvarez Cabral, and taken possession of by him for Portugal. Here also there was a mixed population of Portuguese, American Indians, and negroes, governed by viceroys of the Portuguese, as the Spanish colonies were governed by viceroys of the Spanish monarchs. (3.) *The French Colonies and Possessions.*—The earliest French colonies in America date from the reign of Francis I., when some settlements took place in Canada (1534). Quebec was founded in 1608; Martinique, Guadaloupe, and some other West Indian islands, were added to the French kingdom in 1635; in 1695, the French took possession of about half of St Domingo, leaving only half to the Spaniards; and not long afterwards, they entered on that important region of North America which is watered by the Mississippi. (4.) *The British Settlements.*—The first British settlement in America was that of Virginia, founded by Sir Walter Raleigh (1584–1616). This was followed by various colonies, founded by the Puritans and other non-conformists, who were driven from their homes during the tyrannical reign of Charles I.—Massachusetts, in 1620; Rhode Island, in 1630; Maryland, in 1632. In the West Indies, the British took possession of Barbadoes and St Christopher (1629); and had Jamaica ceded to them by the Spaniards in 1655. Carolina was founded in 1662, when a body of noblemen received a grant of the country from Charles II.; and in 1681, William Penn founded

Pennsylvania. Originally, the Dutch and the Swedes had settlements in North America, along the Bay of Chesapeake; but these also were acquired by the British (1664), their inhabitants becoming British subjects.

175. These various clusters of European colonies in America pursued severally, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the careers for which their natural resources and the character of their possessors fitted them; keeping up, through the medium of their governors, a connection with their respective mother-countries, and receiving every year fresh accessions of population from those countries; but, on the whole, enjoying, by reason of their distance, a tolerable degree of independence. The Spanish colonies of Mexico and Peru subsisted chiefly on their mines of gold and silver; while the Spanish West Indies and the Spanish possessions in South America, subsisted chiefly on their rich agricultural produce, of which sugar and tobacco formed important items. In all these colonies, the Jesuits established themselves, and obtained a degree of influence exceeding that which they obtained in Spain itself. Nowhere was superstition carried to a greater excess; and nowhere was the tyranny of the Inquisition more strictly exercised. In Paraguay, the Jesuits were the actual rulers of the whole country, the native Indians being placed, by an arrangement with the home government, at their disposal. Their rule in this country was excellent; they organised the native population into a kind of community, dividing their time between labour and religious exercises, and sharing in common the produce of their labour; and it is said that a more busy, cheerful, and exemplary population could not have been found than that of Paraguay while the Jesuits governed it. In other parts of Spanish America, however, where the Jesuits had to deal, not with ignorant natives, but with Spanish colonists, their activity was less beneficial; and to their intolerance, among other causes, may be traced the arrest of Spanish enterprise in America. The condition of the Portuguese Brazils was not very different from that of Spanish South America—the colonists occupying themselves partly in agriculture, partly in the quest

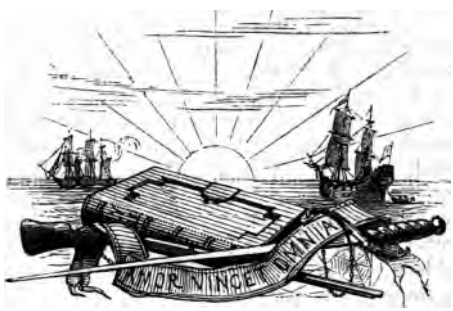
of gold and diamonds, and being likewise under a strict Roman Catholic control. The French in the Canadas occupied themselves chiefly in hunting for furs and trading with the Indians; nor were any more adventurous men to be found in America than the French trappers. The Jesuits had missionary stations in Canada; and some of the earliest and bravest explorers of the interior of North America were French Jesuit missionaries, who set out from Canada on expeditions into the region of the Mississippi and its tributaries. Lastly, the British colonies of North America were of two classes—those founded by the Puritans, and those founded by mercantile adventurers and cadets of aristocratic English families. In the former, which were situated more to the north, and supported themselves by farming, trading, and fishing, strong democratic opinions prevailed, and the colonists were almost universally Independents, Presbyterians, or Quakers; in the latter, which were situated more to the south, and laid out in sugar, cotton, and tobacco plantations, the colonists were for the most part royalists and members of the Church of England. In these latter colonies, negro slavery prevailed.

176. The European colonies in America, like those in the East, were affected by the wars of the mother-countries in Europe. Thus, during the wars of Spain and of Louis XIV. against the Dutch (1590–1697), the colonies of the Spaniards, and of the Portuguese as their allies, sustained various attacks from the Dutch navies. Again, during the war of the Spanish Succession (1701–1713), hostilities were carried on by the British colonists against their Spanish and French neighbours; and the American seas were filled with British ships of war, and the vessels of British buccaneers, who cruised about in search of Spanish and French prizes, and often made descents upon the Spanish and French coasts. The same took place during the great war of the Austrian Succession (1741–1748), and the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). The result of these wars was, that the limits of the British, French, and Spanish possessions in America were altered by mutual conquests and encroachments. On the whole, Great Britain

was the gainer. Thus, at the Peace of Utrecht (1713), the British possessions in America were increased by the addition of Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Hudson's Bay territory, ceded by the French; and at the Peace of 1763, which concluded the Seven Years' War, they were further increased by the annexation of Canada, Cape Breton, the territories of the Mississippi, and some West India islands, also ceded by the French. Great Britain became thus virtually mistress of the North American continent, or at least of all that portion of it lying north of the Spanish possessions of Mexico and Florida.

177. In 1765, a dispute arose between the government of Great Britain and her North American colonies, which led to very extraordinary results. Not content with the proceeds accruing to the general revenue from the monopoly of trade with the colonies, the home government resorted to the practice of imposing taxes on its American subjects. The first tax imposed was a stamp-tax. This was soon repealed, but was followed by a tax on tea, and other commodities. The colonists, who had grown up under a system of institutions devised by the first founders of the colonies, and which fostered the spirit of liberty and habits of self-government, resisted the taxation in a very determined manner; and at length, finding George III. and his minister Lord North obstinate in their resolution to compel them to obedience, they took up arms. This 'Rebellion of the American Colonies,' as it was called by the one party, or 'War of Independence,' as it was called by the other, lasted from 1775 to 1783. The French and the Spaniards availed themselves of the opportunity to humble Great Britain, and made common cause with the Americans. The British government was successful against the French and the Spaniards; but such was the determination of the colonists, so ably were they led by their general-in-chief, George Washington, a gentleman of Virginia, and so fully convinced were the majority of their brethren in Great Britain of the justice of their cause, that in 1783 the British ministry which succeeded that of Lord North, agreed to a peace, acknowledging the independence

of the colonies. Canada, Nova Scotia, the British West Indies, and some other settlements which had not joined in the war, still continued as dependencies of Great Britain, governed under the crown by officials sent out for the purpose; but the fourteen colonies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, Virginia, South Carolina, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Georgia, Delaware, and Maryland, formed themselves into an independent federal republic, called THE UNITED STATES, each state to manage its own affairs by a legislature and local institutions of its own, while the general affairs of the confederacy were to be transacted in a congress of representatives from all the states. The constitution of this new republic, the entire population of which did not at that time exceed one million and a half, was carefully arranged by the ablest men of the different states in concert, and George Washington was chosen its first President. The details of this great event belong more especially to British history; but the event itself must be borne in mind, as constituting the appropriate close of that eventful epoch of universal history which began in 1648 and ended in 1789.



THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

1789-1855 A.D.

178. The year 1789 is one of the most memorable in human annals. In that year began a change in the social and political arrangements of Europe, so great as to render the period which has since elapsed totally different in character from all that preceded it. The change originated in France, where a revolution of unparalleled extent and violence broke up the established constitution of society; but so powerfully did the political state of France, as produced by this Revolution, affect all surrounding countries, that the entire history of Europe since 1789 may be viewed as resolving itself into a history of the French Revolution and its consequences.

179. Prior to 1789, the population of France was divided into three orders or estates—the *Noblesse*, or Nobility; the Clergy; and the Commons, or *Tiers Etat*—that is, 'Third Estate.' (1.) *The Nobility.* The noblesse of France were very numerous, comprehending, it is calculated, about 80,000 families. A considerable proportion of them were located in Paris; the remainder were scattered in châteaux over the country, where they exercised a kind of feudal sway over the peasantry. A portion of the noblesse had titles—such as Duke, Marquis, Count, and Baron; but the greater number were untitled, and corresponded to what we call 'country gentry.' There were about 4000 public offices in France, which conferred nobility upon their holders. A great distinction, however, was drawn between these 'new noblesse,' as they were called, and the 'old noblesse,' who boasted of a long pedigree. The noblesse, as a whole, enjoyed civil privileges which

separated them from the rest of the community: they were exempt from almost all the taxes; they alone could hold military command or high official situations; and they were prohibited from intermarrying with families of inferior rank. A few families of the old noblesse enjoyed a kind of pre-eminence about the court, and kept the highest dignities to themselves. (2.) *The Clergy.* These were divided into two classes—the higher clergy, or the bishops and abbots, who enjoyed large revenues, and were, in fact, ecclesiastical nobles; and the inferior clergy, consisting of the poor and laborious parish-priests and curates. The bishoprics and abbacies being, for the most part, crown gifts, were rarely bestowed except on scions of noble houses; so that the inferior clergy, as a body, felt themselves associated by interest and birth with the plebeian order of the population. The clergy, as an order, were exempt from many taxes, but made voluntary contributions to the public revenue at stated times. (3.) *The Commons,* or *Third Estate.* This order included all the population of France that remained after subtracting the nobles and the clergy. It comprised a great variety of classes, from the wealthier *bourgeoisie* of the towns, engaged in commerce and manufactures, and the educated lawyers and scholars of Paris and the provinces, down to the poorest operatives and the most wretched farm-labourers. This order was entirely unprivileged. The burdens of the state fell almost exclusively upon them. Among the direct taxes, they had to pay a land-tax, a capitation-tax, and a property-tax; there were also numerous indirect modes of taxation, by tolls, customs, and government monopolies in certain articles—more particularly salt. The peasantry were also bound to furnish the government and the neighbouring aristocracy with so many days' labour in the year on roads, farms, &c. This, combined with numberless restrictions on the liberty of industry and trade, produced among the lower members of the order a state of perpetual misery and destitution, sometimes reaching the point of positive starvation, and occasioning bread-riots, and frequent acts of outrage against the farmers of the taxes.

180. The revenues extorted from the people were expended irresponsibly by the crown. Whatever had been the ancient constitution of France, it had in the hands of Louis XIV. become an absolute despotism, in which the king was all in all. The central power was vested in four or five chief ministers chosen by the king, each having, under the king, absolute rule in his department. Letters signed by these ministers, and stamped with the king's signature, possessed supreme authority; they could arrest the course of justice, and supersede the laws. Under the immediate ministers of the crown, was an innumerable host of officials pervading French society to its extremities, and paid with the public money. What remained of the national income after these functionaries of state, high and low, were paid, was expended by the crown at its own whim and pleasure. While Louis XIV. was alive, the nation received some compensation for its pecuniary burdens, by seeing the money it gave the crown expended on wars, fine buildings, pompous processions, and the like; all of which flattered the national love of glory. But under the profligate reign of Louis XV., it was very different; the money was squandered by the king on his private vices and debaucheries, or secretly made away with by courtiers. The accounts of the court were so kept as to conceal the real destination of the moneys.

181. Hardly any vestige of local or municipal liberty remained in France. Each province was presided over by a royal intendant or governor, acting with almost absolute authority as the king's representative; and though some of the provinces—as Artois, Bretagne, and Languedoc—retained the habit of assembling periodically, these provincial meetings of the states confined their functions to the mere apportionment of the taxes levied in the province. No meeting of the States-general, or general legislative assembly of the whole kingdom of France, had been held since 1614. Few of the burghs or municipalities had retained their franchise; in most, the magistrates were hereditary officials under the crown, holding their offices by purchase. Even judicial offices were held by

hereditary right, or acquired by purchase from the crown. The supreme judicial courts in France were the so-called *Parlements*, of which there were thirteen—those of Paris, Toulouse, Grenoble, Bordeaux, Dijon, Rouen, Aix, Rennes, Pau, Metz, Besançon, Douay, and Nancy. Each of these parlements—which were very different, it will be perceived, from British 'parliaments'—possessed jurisdiction within a certain specified territory, that of Paris being the most extensive. The judicial seats were possessed by certain families, whom even the crown could not deprive of them. The parlements, possessing the power of determining the law, both criminal and civil, were institutions of the closest despotism, and filled France with abuses. The royal edicts were formally registered in the records of the parlements; but the parlements had no power to modify these edicts.

182. Such a political and social condition could not last for ever. Even under the most favourable circumstances—with a king able and conscientious, and a people forbearing and hopeful—the inherent evils and absurdities of the system would have, sooner or later, produced a catastrophe, if not removed. There were various causes, however, which, during the reign of Louis XV., tended to accelerate the natural result. One of the most important of these was the universal diffusion, among all the educated classes of France, of what was called the 'sceptical philosophy.' There were notable champions of this philosophy in England and in Germany; but by far its most active and voluminous representative was the Frenchman Voltaire. Born in 1694, Voltaire survived till 1778, and during the whole of his long life he employed his extraordinary literary talents in bringing into discredit the doctrines and forms of the established religion. The influence which he attained was immense. The sceptical philosophy became fashionable in all cultivated circles; it even infected the clergy. Among the most celebrated of Voltaire's coadjutors in the propagation of the new or sceptical philosophy, were—the famous Jean Jacques Rousseau; the philosopher Helvetius; Diderot; the naturalist Buffon; Condillac; Marmontel; Raynal;

D'Alembert; and Condorcet. The influence of Rousseau was, in some respects, peculiar. Of a more enthusiastic disposition than the others, he was not content with merely denying and attacking the established beliefs of mankind; he endeavoured to set up new principles of his own, relating to education and politics. His chief political doctrine was that of the *Contrat Social*, or 'Social Contract;' that is, the notion that the arrangements of society, according to which some governed and others were subject, derived their validity from an original compact among the members of society, and might accordingly be revised by common consent. This doctrine, blending with a mass of confused notions already abroad, some of them borrowed from the English constitution, created in all minds an expectation of a 'good time coming,' when abuses would be reformed and humanity would move forward at an unexampled rate of progress. Public opinion, therefore, was disposed rather to welcome a revolution than to resist it.

183. The Revolution, however, did not happen so early as might have been expected. Like a building undermined, the fabric of French society continued to stand, to all appearance, firm and solid, till the shock came which revealed its insecurity, and made it tumble into ruins. The profligate Louis XV. lived out his reign in peace; and the fruits of his tyranny and misrule were reaped by his comparatively innocent and well-meaning successor Louis XVI. When this kindly and virtuous, but weak-minded monarch ascended the throne (May 10, 1774), the hopes of the nation ran high. Only twenty years of age, and having for his wife the beautiful and accomplished Marie-Antoinette, daughter of the Empress Maria-Theresa of Austria, his household presented a great contrast to that of the debauched old monarch who had just died. Royal state, and splendour, and etiquette were still kept up; but decorum of manners succeeded riot and licentiousness. A milder and more tolerant spirit of government also distinguished the beginning of the young king's reign. Various despotic acts of the deceased king and his ministers were rescinded; persons in prison for political offences were liberated; and writers were permitted to

publish their political theories with greater freedom than before, though not to push them into practical application. One curious symptom in the beginning of the reign of Louis XVI., was the increase of what was called the *Anglomania*, or fondness for the imitation of English habits and English fashions. One of the leaders of this taste for the imitation of English manners, was the royal Duke of Orleans, descendant of that Duke of Orleans who had held the regency in the early part of the reign of Louis XV.—a man of considerable ability, but of corrupt and dissolute life.

184. Notwithstanding the Anglomania, however, the national jealousy of France against Great Britain still continued. Almost the only foreign transactions of any importance in which France was engaged during the early years of the reign of Louis XVI., were in connection with the American war (§ 177). French ships of war were sent out to assist the Americans by fighting the British at sea; French officers engaged as volunteers in the American service under Washington; and American ambassadors—among whom was the celebrated Benjamin Franklin—were received with great favour at the court and in the capital of France. This connection with the transatlantic Republic in the war against Great Britain was not without its effect, in ripening public opinion in France for the coming Revolution. After the close of the war in 1784, the French officers who returned from America to their native country brought with them an ardent love of liberal institutions, and an ardent desire to see France in possession of them. Of those Frenchmen who had fought under Washington, and contracted an enthusiasm for the freedom of American institutions, none was more celebrated than the young and chivalrous Marquis de Lafayette.

185. The great problem with which Louis XVI. had to grapple on his accession to the throne, was the state of the finances. The miserable condition to which these had been reduced, and the impossibility of amending them, were the true proximate causes of the French Revolution. As a beginning of the required reform, Louis at once set about retrenching, as far as possible, the immediate

expenses of the court. Some useless offices were abolished, and a more economical system of court-ceremonial was introduced. These retrenchments, however, were too paltry to produce any perceptible result; and, in order to effect a more extensive reform, Louis adopted the only plan open to a prince in his situation—that of calling liberal and able men to his counsels. Maurepas, a clever, intriguing man, who had been chief minister under Louis XV., still contrived to retain office; but the post of controller-general of the finances was conferred on Turgot, a man of philosophic intellect, great philanthropy, and unflinching honesty. Turgot held office for about twenty months, during which time he reformed many abuses in the administration, and revealed a genius for statesmanship of the very highest order. But his schemes for a thorough reform were too extensive and too honest to meet with acceptance. He plainly declared that, in order to save France from ruin, the noblesse and the clergy must submit to be taxed equally with the Tiers Etat. This produced a storm among the courtiers; and the king was reluctantly obliged to dismiss Turgot, of whom he said that he was 'the only man, except himself, who loved the people.' After a while, another celebrated financier, a Swiss banker of great wealth, named Necker, was called to the office of finance-minister. Necker was also a man of ability and integrity, and for five years he managed the finances in such a manner as to give general satisfaction. In order to make clear the exact state of the revenue, he obtained the royal permission to publish what was called a *Compte Rendu*—that is, a detailed statement of the national income and outlay. The revelations made in this candid document were such as to alarm the nation; the courtiers, in particular, were indignant that their secret receipts from the crown should be made public; and as, after all, Necker was obliged to fall back on Turgot's proposition, that the noblesse and the clergy should be taxed, he also was dismissed. The unprincipled Maurepas again became chief of the state; and Necker, regretted by the people, retired in disgust to Switzerland.

186. All this occurred before 1781. In that year Maurepas died. Various other ministers succeeded him in quick succession, all of whom found the question of the finances beyond their powers. Meanwhile deep murmurs of discontentment were heard in all parts of France; in some parts, there were riots and insurrections, caused by want and oppression; the courtiers, irritated at the reforms of Turgot and Necker, were full of complaints; and the king and the queen began to lose their popularity. Towards the close of 1783, a new controller-general was appointed, whose genius for a time restored order and good-humour. This was M. de Calonne. By great address and judicious borrowing, he contrived for about three years to stave off the impending bankruptcy; at last, however, like Turgot and Necker, he found that no permanent prosperity could be restored without a reform of the constitutional laws of France. In order to bring about such a result in the least harsh manner, he proposed that there should be convened an assembly of select persons of rank, ability, and distinction, from all parts of the country, before whom the state of the nation might be laid, with a view to obtain their advice. This extraordinary proposal was adopted; and, on the 22d of February 1787, the *Convocation of Notables*, as it was called, met at the court of Versailles, near Paris, and began their deliberations. The notables, who were 137 in number, besides seven royal princes, were chiefly of the privileged classes —titled peers, noblesse, high clergy, and presidents of parlements. Accordingly, when M. de Calonne made his practical suggestions to them, the notables turned in a body against the minister, and procured his disgrace. A reckless, ambitious man—Loménie de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse, afterwards a cardinal—was appointed to succeed him, chiefly through the influence of the queen; and Calonne went into exile in England. The notables soon afterwards broke up, having recommended some measures based on the propositions of Calonne—namely, the creation of provincial assemblies throughout France to apportion the imposts; the suppression of *corvées*, or statute-labour; and the alleviation of certain oppressive duties.

187. Loménie issued edicts, in the king's name, for carrying into effect the recommendations of the notables, and, after a short delay, fresh edicts of his own, one for a stamp-tax, another for a new land-tax on all classes. The parlement of Paris, to whom the right belonged, by immemorial custom, of registering royal edicts, and so giving them legal force, refused to register the two last edicts, and even declared that edicts of taxation could only be registered by the States-general. A violent struggle ensued between the parlement and the court. All the other parlements of France took the side of the parlement of Paris, and the people themselves applauded their resistance. The aspect of affairs became threatening; insurrectionary movements took place in various districts; and, in desperation, Loménie was obliged to advise the king to summon the States-general. The announcement that this body was at length to meet caused a universal excitement of joy and hope; and when it was further announced that Loménie was dismissed from office, and the popular Necker recalled, the enthusiasm was unbounded.

188. Although the assembling of the States-general had been again and again proposed in times of difficulty, no actual meeting of the body had been held since 1614; there were, therefore, no precedents from which to gather the proper arrangements, and all had to be arranged anew. Hundreds of pamphlets were issued, proposing plans to be adopted; but the real business of preparation devolved on Necker. In order to discuss the preliminaries, Necker convoked the notables a second time. The two points on which he was most anxious to obtain advice were these: *first*, what proportion of representatives should be given to the Tiers Etat; and, *secondly*, after what method the votes should be taken—whether, for example, all the members of all the orders should vote together, or the three orders should vote separately. The notables broke up without coming to a decision on these points; and it was settled by Necker himself, that the noblesse should send 300 representatives, the clergy 300, and the Commons or Tiers Etat, 600. The question as to voting by head or by order was left unsettled.

189. The 1200 elected deputies of France came together at Versailles on the 4th of May 1789. The Assembly was opened with great pomp and ceremonial, thousands of visitors having collected in Versailles to witness so auspicious an occasion. As yet, little was known as to the views or characters of the great majority of the men upon whose deliberations so much depended. It was known, indeed, that among the deputies of the Tiers Etat there were very many lawyers and many men of talent, entertaining theories of government which would dispose them to innovate on the established constitution of France; but it was thought that these would be counterpoised by the more conservative among the clergy and the noblesse. Among the deputies of the Tiers Etat destined to historical celebrity, may be mentioned the following—Gabriel Honoré Riquetti de Mirabeau, deputy of Aix, a man of rugged and scarred countenance, of about forty years of age, and belonging to the noblesse by birth, but who, having been disowned by his order on account of his wild and reckless life, had thrown himself into the Revolution as a partisan of the people; Maximilian Robespierre, an advocate of Arras, a slight, neatly-dressed man, with a jaundiced face, under thirty; Abbé Sièyes, returned by Paris as one of its representatives, notwithstanding his being a clergyman; Bailly, also one of the Parisian deputies, and celebrated as a man of science, and author of a History of Astronomy; Pétion, a lawyer of Chartres; Mounier and Malouet, likewise experienced lawyers; Barnave, a young lawyer, distinguished for his eloquence; Cazalès, a learned young soldier; and Dr Guillotin, the inventor of the instrument of capital punishment which bears his name. Of the noblesse, the most notable were—the royal Duke of Orleans, a democrat in his principles, or at least in his professions; the Marquis Lafayette, chivalrous and liberal, and highly popular; the Dukes of Liancourt and La Rochefoucault, also of liberal opinions; the two Lameths, likewise on the liberal side; D'Espremenil, a vehement, fanatical royalist; and Viscount Mirabeau, a younger brother of the deputy of Aix. Among the clergy, the most remarkable men were these three—Talleyrand-

Perigord, bishop of Autun, a young man, lame of one foot; the Abbé Maury, a bold able man; and the Curé Gregoire.

190. At the very first business-sitting of the Assembly a dispute arose, which led to momentous consequences. The Commons-deputies, on assembling, found that they had the hall to themselves, and that the noblesse and the clergy had retired to separate halls. As this seemed like a determination on the part of these two orders to sit and vote separately from the Commons, the Commons resolved to fight out the point at the beginning. For a period of six weeks, therefore, the Commons maintained what they called a system of inertia—that is, they met daily, but did nothing—professing to wait till the nobles and clergy should join them, and so constitute the States-general. The nobles and the clergy were at first resolute against junction with the Tiers Etat; the Tiers Etat, however, was even more resolute; and as popular feeling was with them, they ventured at last, on the 17th of June, to constitute themselves '*the National Assembly*,' and declare that they would proceed to business as such, whether the nobles and clergy joined them or not. This bold act alarmed the court; the hall where the Commons assembled was shut up; and the king took measures for compelling them to yield. The determined attitude of the Commons, however, and the preparations made by the people of Paris to support their cause, obliged the court to submit; and before the end of the month, the nobles and the clergy were obliged to give way, and join the Commons.

191. The National Assembly, thus constituted, and composed for the most part of men resolved upon radical changes in the whole organisation of the country, at once entered on a career of reform such as Necker had not anticipated. A 'Declaration of the Rights of Man' was drawn up, containing abstract principles such as had never been broached in France, save in the writings of theoretical philosophers, who had hardly dreamt of their being put into practice. In these circumstances, the king and court again resolved to have recourse to force: regiments were

assembled in the neighbourhood of Paris and Versailles; Necker was dismissed; and preparations were made for breaking up the Assembly and seizing its leaders. These measures produced a violent commotion; even the troops became disaffected; the populace of Paris armed themselves; and on the 14th of July, an infuriated mob, rushing through the streets, attacked and stormed the Bastille, killed its commander and some of the guards, and became masters of the city. Alarmed by this demonstration, the king yielded; Necker was recalled; the troops were withdrawn from Versailles and Paris; a new military body, composed of citizens, was constituted under the name of the *National Guard*, Lafayette being appointed its commander; Bailly was named Mayor of Paris; and, 'the nation having conquered its king,' the work of revolution was allowed to proceed. It proceeded apace. In one memorable nocturnal sitting—that of the 4th of August 1789—a series of measures of unprecedented magnitude were passed by the Assembly with enthusiastic acclamation. Feudalism was destroyed, root and branch; tithes were abolished; so were likewise almost all the seigneurial dues; the game-laws were greatly modified; and important changes were made in the jurisdictions of the municipalities and the provincial governors. Seeing their total inability to resist the tide of change which was sweeping over France, many nobles and wealthy men, including some of the royal family, emigrated to Germany and England. Among the emigrants were not a few members of the Assembly. The majority of that body, however, kept to their posts, and went on, from day to day, considering grievances, receiving deputations from the people, framing laws and resolutions, and gradually shaping a constitution which, when complete, should end all disturbances, and restore France to order.

192. Although the National Assembly was thus carrying out, in a regular deliberative manner by votes and debates, the supposed wishes of the 25,000,000 whom it represented, the history of the Revolution was by no means transacted wholly there. All the 25,000,000 were roused and active, watching the Assembly, but

often acting independently of it. Paris, however, was the centre of the revolutionary spirit; here, besides the mobs in the streets, elated with their capture of the Bastille, and going about in numbers which placed them beyond the control of the municipal authorities, there were hundreds of men, who, though not members of the Assembly, were by their ability and their political zeal qualified to take a part in the Revolution, or at least believed themselves to be so. These could gratify their patriotism or their passion for notoriety only in two ways —by founding newspapers and writing in them; or by haranguing the people in the streets, or in club-meetings. Both plans were adopted to an extent hardly credible: hundreds of journals and fly-sheets sprang up, and in all public places orators were to be seen addressing crowds on the last measures of the Assembly, or on the state of the nation. Among the men who thus became prominent, the most remarkable were—Danton, a man of large brawny figure, an advocate by profession, and with great powers of popular eloquence; Camille Desmoulins, a young and brilliant writer; and Marat, a strange, deformed, misanthropic man, editor of a journal called *The Friend of the People*, in which the most gloomy views were taken of the condition of the country, and the most atrocious hints thrown out as to the proper remedies.

193. In this juncture, an important event occurred. The public excitement in Paris had been greatly increased by a scarcity of bread, and by rumours of aristocratic plots going on at Versailles; and on the 5th of October, a vast mob of men and women, after attacking the Hôtel de Ville, and committing other outrages, marched from Paris to Versailles, where they besieged the hall of Assembly and the royal palace. The arrival of Lafayette from Paris prevented immediate violence; but on the following morning, in consequence of a casual quarrel between the mob and the guards of the palace, the palace was attacked, some of the guards killed, and the queen's life endangered. Order was at length restored; the king and the queen presented themselves to the crowd, and were received with shouts of applause; but nothing else would satisfy the

people than that the royal family should leave Versailles, and take up their residence in Paris. Accordingly, a procession was formed; the king, the queen, and the dauphin were driven into Paris in the midst of riot and rejoicing, the crowd surrounding their carriage, singing revolutionary songs, and crying: 'We shall be in want of bread no longer; for here we bring the Baker, the Baker's wife, and the little Baker's boy!' The National Assembly at the same time removed from Versailles, and continued its legislative labours at Paris. From that time, both king and Assembly were virtually overmastered by the people.

194. During the remainder of the year 1789 and the whole of the year 1790, the royal family lived in the palace of the Tuileries, almost in the situation of prisoners watched by their keepers. Meanwhile, the Assembly proceeded more and more boldly with its measures of innovation; its more moderate members either withdrawing altogether, or yielding to the spirit of the majority. In order to mark the complete change which had passed over France, its ancient division into *provinces* was superseded by a new division into eighty-three *departments*, of nearly equal extent; these departments being further divided into *districts*, which were subdivided into *cantons*, and again into *parishes*. In each department, a criminal court was set up, as well as an administrative council; and minor courts were established in the districts and cantons. The municipalities were also reconstituted on the principle of popular election. The great question of the deficiency in the national finances being still unsettled, vigorous measures were adopted for its solution, all of a very revolutionary character. The crown-lands and the whole property of the church were confiscated for national purposes, a moderate provision being made for the clergy. The confiscated lands were offered for sale; and as money was deficient for such large transactions, a paper currency was issued, under the name of *assignats*, consisting of bonds on the confiscated lands. The internal government of the church was likewise remodelled, the bishops being made equal in number to the departments,

and the appointment of the bishops and the clergy being vested in the people. In the army, a similar change was made; the privilege of the nobles to hold all the commissions being abolished, and the principle of promotion by merit and seniority, irrespective of rank, established. The system of national guards, set up in Paris, was extended to all France; the result of which was, that a soldiery of 300,000 citizens was at once created. All titles of honour were abolished; the provincial parlements were suppressed; Jews and Protestants were admitted to the full rights of citizenship; trial by jury was instituted; and monastic vows were declared illegal. Finally, the new constitution, or fundamental law of France, was settled, according to which the legislative power was vested in a single representative Assembly, elected universally by the adult male population of France, and retaining office two years—the king to have a veto on the measures passed by this Assembly, but this veto not to extend beyond a certain limited period, after the lapse of which the measure should become law, whether the king consented or not. Some of these measures were opposed even by the revolutionary chiefs—and by Mirabeau in particular—as too extensive and sudden; but the extreme party, backed by the people, carried all before them.

195. On the 14th of July 1790—the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille—a grand national fête was held at Paris to inaugurate the new constitution. Upwards of 400,000 persons were present; and, amid an imposing display of pomp and ceremonial, king, Assembly, soldiery, and people swore to be faithful to the Revolution. Mutual confidence seemed restored, and nothing was heard but exultation and rejoicing. France was 'regenerated;' and henceforth king and people were to live in amity.

196. This glimpse of sunshine soon passed away. There were still many seigneurs, clergy, and, above all, officers in the regular army, who hated the Revolution, and maintained a correspondence with the emigrant royalists. The head-quarters of these emigrants were at Coblentz; but they were numerous at Vienna and London, where they laboured to stir up foreign feeling against the new state

of things in France. A secret understanding was thus formed, that the king and the royal family should escape from Paris, throw themselves into the midst of their royalist friends, and put down the Revolution by means of such an army as these friends could still command. Bouillé, the commandant of Metz, a man of bravery and resource, was the centre of this scheme. On the other hand, the revolutionists, to whom these projects of the royalists were not unknown, became more fierce in defence of the constitution, and more determined on severe measures against its enemies. The famous club of the *Jacobins* was at this time rising to the height of its power. Originally a mere assemblage of deputies from Brittany, this club first rose into importance when the court and the National Assembly removed to Paris. From its place of meeting—the hall of the Jacobins' convent—it took the name of the Jacobins' Club. It was a place of popular debate, where, in the midst of spectators, about 1300 members, including all the more revolutionary portion of the Assembly, and many other revolutionists not members of that body, met nightly to discuss questions of importance in a freer and bolder manner than was possible in the legislature. Gradually, the club became more and more violent, till at length it controlled the Assembly itself, and imposed its own will upon that body. Danton, after presiding for some time in a club of his own, joined the Jacobins; and he and Robespierre became its ruling spirits. Hundreds of societies throughout the provinces affiliated themselves to the Jacobins, and kept up a regular correspondence with it.

197. The king's minister, Necker, long powerless in the midst of the Revolution he had helped to call into being, thought it high time to secure his personal safety. He escaped from Paris secretly, and was permitted to leave France. In these circumstances, the eyes of the court turned to Mirabeau, who had already shewn that he was disposed to check the last excesses of the revolutionary spirit, and save the throne. Mirabeau had secret interviews with Marie-Antoinette; and arrangements were made, the nature of which cannot now be exactly known,

but which would have conferred the mastery of affairs on Mirabeau, as minister of Louis. The sudden death of Mirabeau, however, on the 2d of April 1791, put an end to this, the last hope of the monarchy. After the death of this extraordinary man, there was no one left who could mediate between the king and the Revolution. To escape from Paris, join Bouillé and his royalist associates, and raise the standard of civil war, was now the only plan which the king could adopt. Towards the end of June, an attempt was made to put the plan in execution. The king, the queen, the dauphin, and Madame Elizabeth, the king's sister, escaped at night from the Tuileries in disguise; and set out in a chariot provided for them, with the intention of reaching the north-east frontier, where Bouillé and other royalist officers had made the necessary preparations. They got as far as Varennes without detection, but there they were discovered and arrested by the national guard. They were brought back to Paris by the orders of the Assembly, the enraged populace dancing frantically round their carriage, and openly demanding their heads. The king's brother, 'Monsieur,' styled also Count of Provence, travelled more quietly, and succeeded in escaping; his younger brother, the Count D'Artois, had left France the previous year.

198. The deposition of the king and the abolition of the monarchy, were now openly discussed by the democrats both in the Assembly and in the clubs. Robespierre was most resolute in making these demands, which were opposed, however, not only by the more moderate constitutionalists, but also by some who had hitherto been on the extreme side, particularly Barnave. The people, taking part with Robespierre, rose in revolt; and it was not without bloodshed that Lafayette and the national guard kept order in Paris. At this crisis, the Assembly, having finished its labours, dissolved itself (September 29, 1791), leaving the further conduct of affairs to its successor. Before its dissolution, a semblance of agreement was established between it and the king, the king deliberately accepting the completed constitution, and promising to govern in strict accordance with it. The Assembly, also, as

a proof of its disinterestedness, passed a resolution declaring its members ineligible for the next Assembly—a resolution followed by very fatal effects, as it threw the destinies of France into the hands of new men, ardent for further changes, and not feeling themselves bound by what their predecessors had done.

199. Thus, after sitting two years and five months, broke up the famous States-general of Louis XVI., known in history by the name of the *Constituent Assembly*. Its successor, known as the *Legislative Assembly*, began its sittings on the 1st of October 1791, and continued in office till September 1792. This was a most eventful year. The Assembly was, as had been expected, more revolutionary in its composition than the last. It contained scarcely any men of property or aristocratic birth; and most of its members, 745 in number, were young adventurers, eager to distinguish themselves by giving vent to their crude ideas. Its most moderate party consisted of *Constitutional Royalists*, whose desire it was to see the new constitution faithfully adhered to. The rest of the Assembly divided itself mainly into two parties, both republican in their principles—the *Girondists*, so called from the name of a district near Bordeaux which had returned their principal leaders, and whose aim was to establish a Republic after the pure ancient model by gradual and pacific methods; and the *Extreme Left*, called also the *Mountain*, because they sat on the highest benches, whose views were far more violent. Of the Girondists, the chief were—Vergniaud of Gironde, an impetuous eloquent speaker; Guadet, Gensonné, Ducos, and Valazé, all from the same district; Brissot, a man of restless character, already conspicuous by his writings; Isnard, from the south-east of France; and the eminent mathematician and philosopher Condorcet. The chief speakers of the Mountain, which was as yet the least numerous and least influential party, were Merlin de Thionville and Bazire, both attorneys, and Chabot, an ex-priest. Hippolyte Carnot, a military officer, of great talent and of iron resolution, likewise belonged to this party. All these, it will be seen, were new men; in

reality, however, the older Revolutionists, though they did not sit in the Assembly, influenced its proceedings privately, and through the clubs.

200. The Republicans, being in the ascendant in the Assembly, pursued a policy calculated to subvert the last remains of royalty. They abolished the titles *Sire* and *Majesty*, as applied to the king; they diminished his guards; and they passed severe measures against emigrants and refractory priests. It was in vain that Louis resisted with his *veto;* he was obliged to yield. His royalist ministers were dismissed, and a new ministry appointed from the Girondist party, including Dumourier, a revolutionary officer of great ability, as minister of war, and Roland as minister of the interior. Roland was a manufacturer of Lyon, who had been induced to take up his residence in Paris, where his austere and honest character, and his talent for business, had obtained for him great weight in the revolutionary party. He owed much of his power, however, to the extraordinary abilities of his wife, a woman of noble character and enthusiastic disposition. Roland's house became the rendezvous of the principal Girondists and Republicans; and the influence obtained over them by Madame Roland, by her advice and conversation, was immense.

201. It was part of the Girondist policy to involve the nation in a foreign war, so as to rouse the national spirit, and identify the Revolution with the cause of patriotism. There was sufficient pretext for this course. Roused by the representations of the emigrants, as well as by natural sympathy with a falling throne, the potentates of Europe were eager to interfere in the affairs of France, and avenge the cause of insulted royalty. Frederick-William II. of Prussia, and Leopold II., emperor of Germany—the latter of whom was the brother of Marie-Antoinette—were the monarchs chiefly interested; and an alliance was formed between them, for the invasion of France, the suppression of the Revolution, and the restoration of the royal power. Leopold died in March 1792; but under his son and successor, Francis II., the military preparations continued. The Girondists thereupon compelled Louis to

declare war against the emperor (April 1792). Revolutionary armies, under Lafayette and others, were accordingly sent to the frontiers to resist the invaders. Meanwhile, the Assembly proposed the confiscation of the property of the emigrants, and the banishment of all non-juring priests as enemies of their country, whose continued presence in it, in a time of war, would be dangerous. The king resisted these measures; dismissed his Girondist ministry, and called a new one, consisting of moderate royalists. This show of resistance roused the popular fury; and on the 20th of June, a tumultuous mob of 10,000 persons, headed by the brewer Santerre, one of the revolutionary chiefs of Paris, rushed to the Assembly and the palace. They broke into the king's presence, and for some hours Louis was in the midst of a crowd of rioters, who jeered at and insulted him, and one of whom handed him a red cap, and made him put it on. Some members of the Assembly at last arrived, and obliged the mob to disperse; but none of the rioters were punished. Lafayette, arriving from the army, made an attempt to call the authors of the tumult before the bar of the Assembly; but, finding himself powerless, he hastened back to the camp. From that moment the Constitutionalists could do nothing, and the Jacobins and Republicans had everything in their hands.

202. A rash proclamation of the Duke of Brunswick, the commander of the invading forces of the Austrians and Prussians, precipitated the catastrophe. In this proclamation, the leading Revolutionists were threatened with death; and it was announced that if the palace were again attacked, or the royal family further insulted, no less vengeance would be exacted than the total destruction of Paris. Exasperated by these threats, Danton and other revolutionary chiefs organised a second popular insurrection; and on the 10th of August, the Hôtel de Ville and the Tuileries were sacked, the Swiss Guards of the latter massacred, and the magistrates of the town replaced by others appointed by the mob. The king and the royal family saved their lives by taking refuge in the hall of the Assembly. The Assembly, however, were now merely the agents of the will of the mob, who were led by

Danton, Robespierre, and Marat; and a decree was instantly passed, suspending the king, dismissing his ministers, and calling a National Convention to settle the future form of government. On the 13th of August, the royal family were shut up as prisoners in the Temple, there to await the further course of events. Lafayette made an attempt to rouse the army in behalf of the king, but, failing, he sought safety in flight. He fell into the hands of the Austrians, who detained him in prison at Olmütz for four years—the Assembly, in the meantime, declaring him a traitor, and setting a price on his head.

203. In the interval between the 10th of August, when the storming of the Tuileries by the mob put an end to all regular government, and the 20th of September, when the National Convention began its sittings, the supreme authority was exercised by the new municipality of Paris, governed by Danton, Robespierre, Marat, and their associates. It had long been the declared opinion of Marat and others, that only by the extirpation throughout France of all persons of aristocratic birth or convictions could the Revolution be made sure and final; and now that he and those who were associated with him possessed power, and that the advance of the foreign invading army seemed to leave no hope to the Revolutionists except in the most desperate measures, this terrible doctrine was put in practice. A revolutionary tribunal for the trial of political offences was appointed by the Assembly; but as the proceedings of this tribunal seemed too slow, the popular leaders made arrangements for a more summary act of vengeance. The prisons of Paris were crowded with persons, chiefly priests and members of noble families, arrested for their resistance, real or supposed, to the Revolution; and, on the 2d of September, a massacre of these prisoners was begun. It was continued for four days, during which, it is calculated, about 2000 victims perished. The atrocities of these terrible 'days of September' surpass anything known in modern history since the massacre of St Bartholomew.

204. There can be no doubt that the dreadful ruthlessness with which the populace of Paris—inspired only by

their popular chiefs, and not authorised by the Assembly —thus acted against what they called 'the aristocrats' at home, arose from the terror occasioned by the threats of the invading commanders. The campaign had begun in April 1792, when the Assembly had despatched three armies, commanded respectively by the three revolutionary generals, Lafayette, Rochambeau, and Luckner, to protect the eastern frontier against the Austrians and Prussians; a fourth army, under General Montesquieu, being stationed in the south near the frontier of the Pyrenees. The Duke of Brunswick, an old friend and companion in arms of Frederick the Great, and one of the ablest of the German princes, anticipated little difficulty in scattering, with his splendid army of 50,000 Prussians, 65,000 Austrians, and 7000 French emigrants, the raw, ill-clad, and ill-disciplined forces of the Revolution. Entering France on the 20th of July, he advanced steadily towards the interior, taking Longwy, Verdun, and other fortresses. The king of Prussia in person was with the army; and there was not a doubt that before long Paris would be in the hands of the Austrians and Prussians, who would crush the Revolution, hang its chiefs, and restore the noblesse and the clergy to their former position. There was even a project of partitioning France, as Poland had been partitioned —Prussia and Austria taking certain portions of it, and leaving the rest to Louis XVI., to be governed by him with Prussian and Austrian assistance. The French emigrants, who attended the invading army, were already eager for revenge on those revolutionary leaders from whom they had suffered so much. In these circumstances, there was no hope for France but in the fury of despair. 'We must dare, and again dare, and always dare,' were the words of Danton; and they expressed the universal feeling. While hunting out and killing the aristocrats at home, the revolutionists were busy in sending fresh recruits to the frontier to resist the invaders. Money, arms, and all other necessaries were scarce, and the troops sent on this perilous duty were composed of the most wretched materials—shoeless and half-naked wretches drafted from the fields and towns of France, with no sense

of order, and formidable only by reason of their enthusiasm and ferocity. There was at first no general to command them. Rochambeau and Luckner had proved themselves incapable; and Lafayette had abandoned the cause of the Revolution, at the news of the suspension of the king. The Assembly, on this emergency, gave the command to Dumourier. They could not have chosen better. This brave and expert general stationed himself, with his army, in an advantageous position in front of the invaders; maintained it against them for some weeks, and so prevented them from marching to Paris; defeated them in an engagement at Valmy; and at length obliged them to retreat, with their numbers greatly reduced by fever and dysentery (September 29). This exploit of Dumourier, accomplished with raw levies against the best troops in the world, first revealed the real strength of the Revolution, and convinced foreign courts that interference with France would be a more difficult and dangerous task than they had expected.

205. Meanwhile (September 20, 1792), the Legislative Assembly had given place to the *National Convention*, a body as much more revolutionary than the Legislative, as that body had been than the Constituent Assembly. Of 745 members, about 200 consisted of the ablest of the Legislative Assembly, re-elected on purpose; there were also about 60 members of the old Constituent Assembly, including Sièyes and Robespierre; and the remainder consisted of men who had distinguished themselves by their revolutionary zeal, though not yet in a legislative capacity—including Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Marat, and a number of others whose names were destined to become famous. Manuel, Tallien, Louvet, Collot d'Herbois, Carrier, Barbaroux, St Just, Lebon, Anacharsis Clootz, the painter David—such are a few of the names of those elected for the first time. The Duke of Orleans sat in the Convention, having thrown aside his title, and assumed the surname of *Egalité* (Equality). Various foreigners known to be friendly to the Revolution were elected—as, for example, Dr Priestley, who declined, and Thomas Paine, the free-thinker, who accepted. But,

when all were assembled, it was obvious that there were no royalists among the members, and that, in reality, there were but two parties, both republican—the *Girondists* or *Moderates*, and the *Jacobins* or *Mountain*. The Girondists had been most numerous in the Legislative Assembly, but now the Jacobins had the preponderance.

206. In its very first sitting, the Convention abrogated the constitution, abolished monarchy, declared France to be a republic, and ordered that the calendar should thenceforth be changed, the current year ranking as 'year I. of the French Republic.' It was in these circumstances that the trial of the king was decreed. For a while, the royal prisoners had been kept together in the Temple, and treated with some civility; but at length they were subjected to the most barbarous usage by their keepers, and the king and the dauphin were separated from the rest. The trial of the king began on the 11th of December, the Convention itself acting as the tribunal. Three advocates—Tronchet, De Sèze, and Malesherbes—were bold enough to undertake the king's defence; but on the 15th of January 1793, he was found guilty *unanimously*, only thirty-seven members refusing to vote, while of these not one took the king's part. The Girondists, who were, for the most part, anxious to save the king's life, trusted to accomplish this by carrying a motion for referring the final decision to the people. This motion was lost by a majority of 423 to 281. The question was then put: 'What shall be his punishment?' The voting on this question occupied forty hours, each member voting separately, and giving his reasons for his vote. At the end, it was found that there was a majority of 53 votes for the sentence of death, over that of banishment or imprisonment. Of those who voted for death, some accompanied their vote with qualifying clauses or recommendations to mercy; among those who voted for death, without any qualifying clause, were Robespierre, St Just, Sièyes, Danton, Carnot, and all the chief Jacobins, including the king's own cousin, Egalité. An attempt was then made to procure a delay in the execution of the sentence; but the attempt failed; and on the following morning—Monday,

January 21, 1793—Louis was publicly guillotined in the Place de la Révolution. He was then in his thirty-ninth year.

207. THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.—By the execution of the king, France deliberately placed itself at war with all the other powers of Europe. Indeed, prior to that event, the Convention had assumed an aggressive attitude towards all existing governments. On the 19th of November 1792, a decree had been passed, offering 'fraternity and assistance' to all foreign peoples that should engage in a struggle against their governments; and this was followed, on the 15th of December, by a decree proclaiming 'liberty, equality, and the sovereignty of the people' in all foreign territories that might be conquered by the arms of the republic. In these circumstances, the European governments felt themselves obliged to form an alliance against the new republic. Great Britain, neutral till now, announced her intention of throwing her whole strength and resources into the struggle; and treaties were successively concluded, by which Great Britain, Russia, Sardinia, Spain, Naples, Prussia, Portugal, and the German Empire, mutually bound and pledged themselves to the suppression of the French Revolution, as an enterprise necessary for 'the common interest of all civilised states.' The aggregate of the allied armies assembled round the whole land-frontier of France for this purpose was 365,000 men, of which Great Britain supplied 20,000, under the Duke of York, at the same time supplying large subsidies of money to the other powers. British fleets were also sent to watch the French coasts, and attack French vessels and French settlements abroad.

208. Thus hemmed in by the forces of all Europe, the republican government found its dangers increased by the outburst of revolt at home. The royalist spirit had always been stronger in the north-west departments of Maine, Poitou, Normandy, and Brittany, than in other parts of France; and on the death of the king, these districts raised the standard of civil war, and proclaimed their allegiance to the young dauphin, under the title of Louis XVII. The district of La Vendée, inhabited by an

unsophisticated peasantry, greatly attached to their seigneurs and their priests, particularly distinguished itself by its royalist zeal. The Vendean peasantry flocked to arms, and abjured the republican government as odious to God and man. Their enthusiasm spread into other parts of France; Lyon itself revolted from the Convention (28th February); and Toulon, following the example, declared for Louis XVII., and surrendered to the British fleet under Lord Hood.

209. The government of the Convention displayed prodigious energy. About 270,000 troops were in the field in the beginning of 1793; fresh levies were decreed; and the most desperate financial devices were adopted to provide the necessary resources. Nor were victories wanting to encourage the Convention. Not content with driving the Duke of Brunswick and his army beyond the frontier, Dumourier had, in November 1792, led his raw troops into the Low Countries, had gained the battle of Jemappes, seized Mons, Tournay, Ghent, Antwerp, Brussels, and Namur, and thus annexed all Austrian Flanders to the French Republic. The young Duc de Chartres, the son of the Duke of Orleans, and afterwards king of the French, served with distinction under Dumourier in this campaign. About the same time, General Custine, on the Upper Rhine, distinguished himself by the capture of the important German town of Mayence; while in the south, General Montesquieu, advancing into the dominions of the king of Sardinia, overran Savoy, which was incorporated, like Flanders, with the French republic.

210. The defection of Dumourier, in March 1793, was a heavy blow to the republic. He had no sympathy with the extreme Jacobins of the Convention, and when he saw them obtaining the mastery over the Girondists, he formed a plan for restoring a constitutional monarchy or some other firm government in France. He openly threatened the Jacobins with his vengeance when he should return to Paris. The Jacobins thereupon denounced him as a traitor, and decreed his recall. Commissioners were sent to his camp, bearing this decree. He caused these commissioners

to be arrested, and propounded his design to his army. His soldiers, however, rose against him; and he was compelled to take refuge among the Austrians, with some followers who were implicated in his conspiracy. Among these was the young Duc de Chartres, who from that time was an exile from France.

211. Every fresh misfortune that befell the republic, served to increase the power of the Jacobins at the expense of the Girondists. On the 6th of April 1793, the Jacobins proposed, and, in spite of the violent opposition of Vergniaud and other Girondists, carried a measure of great importance—the appointment of a committee of nine persons, to be called 'the Committee of Public Safety,' and to be invested with full powers to prepare and execute whatever measures they might deem advisable for the external or the internal protection of the republic. Till then, the executive power had been wielded by the Convention itself in conjunction with the ministers, who, though the king was dead, still continued to hold nominal office; but from the appointment of the Committee of Public Safety, all real power was exercised by it, the Convention only discussing and commenting on its actions. The nine persons appointed to form the committee were to hold office for one month, but were to be re-eligible. Danton was one of the first appointed; Robespierre afterwards became a member. Revolutionary committees had already been appointed in all the departments to seek out 'suspected persons,' and in other ways to look after the interests of the Republic in their respective districts; and, as these put themselves in connection with the Committee of Public Safety, all France was pervaded, so to speak, with a net-work of revolutionary agencies meeting in one centre. From this period begins what is called 'the Reign of Terror.'

212. The Girondists made one last attempt to arrest the course of the more extreme revolutionists. They accused Marat of sedition before the revolutionary tribunal. The Jacobins and the 'Sans Culottes'—by which name the wilder revolutionists now began to call themselves—procured the acquittal of Marat. The Girondists then

proposed the arrest and trial of Hebert, another revolutionary journalist, even more brutal than Marat. The mob rose in arms, surrounded the Convention with cannon, and compelled the members to pass a decree arresting Vergniaud, Guadet, Pétion, Brissot, Barbaroux, Louvet, and twenty-four other leading Girondists (June 2). Thus the Girondists were crushed, and the Revolution passed under the entire control of the Jacobins. In the midst of their triumph, however, one of their chiefs, Marat, was assassinated by Charlotte Corday, a young lady of Caen, who came to Paris with the resolution of 'giving repose to her country by ridding it of this savage wild beast' (July 13). She was guillotined a few days afterwards; and many more Girondists were arrested, on the pretext of their having been concerned in Marat's death.

213. While these changes were taking place in the government of the republic, the war against the allies was proceeding at all points of the frontier. For a time, the allies were successful. On the eastern frontier, where Generals Dampierre and Beauharnais had succeeded Dumourier, the Prussians and Austrians drove back the French from their positions in Germany and Belgium. Dampierre and Beauharnais were recalled to Paris, where they were afterwards tried and guillotined for their failure. The same fate befell General Houchard, their successor, and also General Custine; but at length, under Generals Jourdan, Pichegru, and Moreau—all of them able men, and stimulated to do their utmost by the fate of their predecessors—the fortune of the war was changed, and before the end of the year 1793, the allies were again driven across the Rhine. Meanwhile, in Savoy and on the Spanish frontier, the republican forces kept their ground. The exertions made by the Committee of Public Safety to support the war were almost incredible. A levy of upwards of 1,000,000 of men was decreed and executed; a forced tax of enormous amount was raised, and new issues of assignats sent forth.

214. The insurrection in La Vendée defied for a time all the efforts of the Convention. Led by Cathelineau and Stofflet, two peasant-chiefs, and by some royalist noblemen,

of whom the most noted were Lescure, D'Elbée, Larochejaquelein, Bonchamps, and Charette, the enthusiastic Vendeans defeated again and again the republican forces sent against them; and at one time it even seemed probable that they would march to Paris and crush the Revolution. Their successes were such that all the towns on the Loire, except Nantes, declared for Louis XVII., and all the north-west of France revolted from the republic. At length, the death of the Vendean leaders in battle one by one, the obstinacy of the Convention, and the failure of expected assistance from England, reduced the royalists to extremities; a body of 80,000 peasants, who had crossed the Loire with the hope of reaching the coast, was defeated with immense carnage; and by December 1793, La Vendée was conquered, with the exception of some bands under Stofflet, who still held out. The sanguinary measures of revenge inflicted by the Convention, on the Vendeans and on all the districts concerned in the revolt, defy description. The royalists were hanged, drowned, and guillotined in masses; villages were burnt, and large tracts of country reduced to deserts. At Nantes, in particular, where the revolutionary tribunal for the trial of prisoners was presided over by a deputy to the Convention, named Carrier, horrors were enacted almost unexampled in history. The guillotine being too slow a means of execution for all who were condemned, they were carried out in vessels and drowned wholesale in the Loire, men, women, and children together. As many as 30,000 victims are said to have perished in this single district.

215. In addition to the revolt in La Vendée, the Convention had to deal with the two rebellious towns of Lyon and Toulon—the former defended by the inhabitants, the majority of whom were Girondists or royalists; the latter by the inhabitants, assisted by the English. Marseille had threatened to revolt; but the revolt had been crushed on the instant by General Carteaux, and the ringleaders sent to the scaffold. The siege of Lyon, conducted by General Kellermann, lasted from July to October 1793, when, after a tremendous bombardment with red-hot shot, which laid a great part of the city

in ruins, the brave Lyonese were obliged to surrender. The Jacobin deputies, Collot d'Herbois and Fouché, were charged with the task of punishing the rebellious citizens —a task which they accomplished with a cruelty little inferior to that of Carrier at Nantes. The Girondists and royalists of the city were marched out in bodies, and shot down by volleys of musketry and grape-shot, their bodies being either buried indiscriminately in huge pits, or thrown into the Rhône. This was but a forewarning to the people of Toulon. Garrisoned by about 13,000 allied troops, of whom 5000 were English, Toulon held out against the besieging republican army, under General Dugommier, till December 1793, when the capture of an important outwork obliged the garrison to embark in their ships, along with such of the inhabitants as chose to accompany them, and leave the town to the mercy of the Convention. Fifteen thousand of the Toulonese went away in the English ships; of those who remained, many were slaughtered; and the town was all but totally destroyed. It was during this siege of Toulon that a man destined to be known over the world more widely than any man of modern times, first distinguished himself. In the besieging army there was a young major of artillery, by birth a Corsican, named Napoleon Bonaparte, remarkable for his taciturnity, his decision of character, his slim short figure, and the beauty of his pale, thin, olive face. He was then but twenty-four years of age; but it was owing to a suggestion made by him to his superior officers that Toulon was taken. At that time, Bonaparte's connections were chiefly among the more extreme Jacobins or Robespierrists.

216. The year 1793 had thus closed triumphantly for the republic, as far as military success over foreign foes and over open insurrection within France itself was concerned. Meanwhile, the internal government of France had been proceeding to the wildest extremes of revolutionary fanaticism. A new constitution had been in preparation by the Convention, which was to restore law and order, and put an end to all irregularities. In August 1793, however, Robespierre and the other chiefs of the Jacobins had procured a decree suspending this

constitution, and vesting the government in the Committee of Public Safety and the Convention, until the Revolution should be accomplished, and the republic acknowledged by foreign powers. During the remainder of the year 1793, accordingly, the Committee of Public Safety was absolute in France. At first, seats in this body were held by various members of the Convention in turns, Danton being one of the most influential; but at last, Robespierre, Carnot, St Just, Couthon, Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, and a few others, contrived to keep the seats for themselves, and form a kind of decemvirate, by whose orders not only the Convention and the municipality of Paris, but also the local revolutionary committees throughout France, numbering about 50,000 in all, were implicitly guided. Carnot, who was also minister at war, had charge of the military activity of the republic; and it was chiefly to his iron energy and indefatigable zeal that the astonishing successes of the republic in the field were to be attributed. Robespierre was the ruling spirit in political matters. It was by him, and his creatures St Just and Couthon, that that system of internal terror was organised which led to the bloodiest excesses of the Revolution. In September 1793, a law called the 'Law of the Suspected' was passed, enabling the revolutionary committees throughout the country to arrest all persons suspected of hostility to the republican government. The consequences were terrible. In every city and district of France, hundreds of persons, innocent of every crime but that of not going so far as the decemvirs in their political opinions, were thrown into prison; whence many of them, after a brief trial, were brought forth to be guillotined. In Paris, the prisons were full of men and women of all ranks; every day there were trials before the revolutionary tribunal, where a wretch named Fouquier Tinville acted as public accuser; and every day the tumbril conveyed victims through the streets to the guillotine. Among the crowds of victims, it is possible to distinguish only a few of the most famous. First came Marie-Antoinette, who, since the death of her husband, had been kept in prison, and subjected to every species of indignity. She was tried on the 14th of October,

under the name of 'the widow Capet;' and two days afterwards was publicly guillotined. On the 31st of October, twenty-two of the Girondist leaders, including Vergniaud, Brissot, and Gensonné, were sent to the guillotine. On the 3d of November perished the Duke of Orleans, execrated by all parties alike; on the 8th of November, the brave Madame Roland, lamented by all. Among those guillotined in Paris in the same month were Bailly, the aged astronomer, the eloquent Barnave, and various unsuccessful republic generals. Such of the Girondists as had escaped from Paris, wandered as fugitives about France in daily danger of their lives. Some of them died of fatigue and privation. Roland was found dead on the highway near Rouen, having committed suicide in despair.

217. It was not only by their cruelties that the Jacobins provoked the universal detestation of surrounding nations. On the 7th of November 1793, the Christian religion and its rites were formally abolished in France, and a new religion, called the Worship of Reason, inaugurated with profane and disgusting ceremonies, at once ludicrous and shocking. Churches were plundered, and colleges suppressed. The law of marriage was all but rescinded. A totally new calendar was established, according to which the year was divided into twelve months, called by the following names: —*Vendemiaire*, or 'the Vintage-month,' commencing on the 21st of September; *Brumaire*, or 'the Fog-month;' *Frimaire*, or 'the Frost-month;' *Nivose*, or 'the Snow-month;' *Pluviose*, or 'the Rain-month;' *Ventose*, or 'the Windy-month;' *Germinal*, or 'the Bud-month;' *Floreal*, or 'the Flower-month;' *Prairial*, or 'the Meadow-month;' *Messidor*, or 'the Reaping-month;' *Thermidor*, or 'the Hot-month;' and *Fructidor*, or 'the Fruit-month.' Each of these months was to consist of thirty days, the supernumerary five days being provided for by five festivals, to be called *Sansculottides*, and the extra day of each leap-year by an additional festival in commemoration of the Revolution. The division of the month into weeks was abolished, and a division into three decades decreed instead, each tenth day to be a day of rest and

recreation. This new calendar was used by the French from 1793 to 1805.

218. The Revolution, being now at its height, began to destroy itself. We have seen how, first of all, the constitutional royalists overcame the absolute royalists; how the constitutional royalists were in their turn succeeded by the Girondists, or moderate republicans; and how, finally, the Girondists were swept away, and only the Jacobins remained. About the beginning of 1794, however, the Jacobins themselves began to exhibit signs of disunion. Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and a number of others, disgusted with the excesses of the Committee of Public Safety, and anxious that a stop should be put to the work of bloodshed, began to be recognised as *moderate Jacobins;* Robespierre, St Just, Couthon, and their associates, held power as *Robespierrists;* and beyond them, again, was a party of *anarchists*, headed by Hebert, Clootz, and a number of others, possessing considerable influence over the populace. After some struggling among these parties, the Robespierrists triumphed over both the others. Uniting with the Dantonists, they first arrested and guillotined nineteen of the Hebertists or anarchists (March 24, 1794); and then, by an unexpected act of audacity, they arrested Danton, Camille Desmoulins, General Westermann, and some other Dantonists, and brought them to the scaffold (April 5). Thus left without opponents or rivals, Robespierre and his fellow-triumvirs, Couthon and St Just, continued remorselessly their system of government by terror. Every day ten or twelve heads fell under the guillotine. Among those who perished at this time were the old royalist D'Espremenil; Malesherbes, the defender of Louis XVI.; Madame Elizabeth, the sister of Louis; the widow of Camille Desmoulins; the widow of Hebert; Condorcet, the philosopher; and Lavoisier, the eminent chemist.

219. At length, France was freed from these horrors. It was known that Robespierre and his associates meditated a final act of bloodshed, by which all the more prominent members of the Convention, besides themselves, were to be sent to the scaffold, and France placed irretrievably under

their own tyranny. This roused Tallien, Carnot, Cambon, and other members of the Convention, who, though they had gone with Robespierre hitherto, now saw that their lives depended on his downfall; and on the 8th of Thermidor (July 26), when Robespierre, after long absence, made his appearance in the Convention, these and other members publicly attacked him, and, the rest joining with them, Robespierre retired in dismay. For two days, the battle was undecided; Robespierre came back to the Convention, but was received with cries of 'Down with the tyrant!' In vain his partisans among the people rallied for his defence; the Convention stood firm, passed decrees for the trial of the Robespierrists, and caused them all to be arrested. On the afternoon of the 28th of July, Robespierre, St Just, Henriot, Couthon, and seventeen others, were guillotined, amid the yells and hootings of the populace; on the following days, others of the same party were sent to the scaffold, and the Reign of Terror was at an end.

220. France now began to breathe freely. Vengeance was taken upon a few of the more notorious agents of the recent government, such as Fouquier Tinville and Carrier; but, on the whole, all parties were tired of bloodshed, and anxious that it should cease. The *Thermidoreans*, as the party in the Convention was called by whose exertions Robespierre had been crushed, took measures for reassuring the public mind. The Law of the Suspected was repealed; the prisons were rapidly emptied of their inmates; and the revolutionary tribunals were modified. The middle classes, and especially the young men of respectable families who had lost relatives during the Reign of Terror, supported the Thermidoreans; and though various attempts were made, during the remainder of 1794 and the early part of 1795, by the mob of Paris and the remaining Terrorist leaders to overthrow the party in power, their efforts failed. In September 1794, the club of the Jacobins was closed. About the same time, the Convention—from which most of the leading Jacobins had been expelled, while many of the Girondists had returned to their places in it after a long absence spent in exile or in hiding—drew up a new constitution for the future government of the country.

According to this constitution, there were to be two legislative chambers—one to be called the Council of Five Hundred, which was to act as a Lower House, and to have the power of originating and discussing laws; the other to be called the Council of Ancients, which was to consist of 250 elderly and tried men, and to act as an Upper House, influencing and checking the Lower. The executive power was to be vested in five directors, nominated by the Lower House and approved by the Upper, one of whom was to retire every year. This constitution gave general satisfaction; and it was agreed that it should come into force in October that year.

221. During the short remainder of the existence of the Convention, various measures were passed beneficial to public order. The poor dauphin, who had been so vilely treated in prison after the death of his father as to have become idiotic, did not survive to experience the benefits of the political change that had taken place, but died in June 1795, shortly after his release. The so-called reign of this unfortunate child, under the name of Louis XVII., extends, therefore, over the interval between January 1793 and June 1795. His case excited much sympathy, and the Convention hastened to release his surviving sister, who was sent out of the country. Other measures adopted by the Convention about the same time gave less satisfaction; in particular, a law passed in August 1795, declaring that of the 500 members to be elected for the Lower House under the new constitution, at least two-thirds should be taken from the members of the Convention. This decree excited a vehement opposition among the Parisians; the Jacobins determined once more to try what could be done by popular insurrection; and the royalists, hoping their cause would be improved by turmoil, joined in a conspiracy against the Convention, with a view to bring back the Bourbons. On the 3d of October, all Paris was in dreadful commotion, the armed populace, as on former occasions, besieging the Assembly, and threatening to batter in the doors, and massacre or disperse the legislators. The Convention, however, stood firm; they intrusted the command of their troops to one of their number, Barras,

and charged him to defend the Assembly against the attack of the insurgents. At the request of Barras, the Assembly nominated, as his second in command, Napoleon Bonaparte, the young artillery-officer who had distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon nearly two years before, and who had since that time been living in Paris and elsewhere in poverty and obscurity. All the arrangements for the defence of the Convention were committed to Bonaparte. With the promptitude which always distinguished him, he caused fifty guns to be brought at once into Paris from a camp near the city; planted them, loaded with grape, so as to command the approaches to the Tuileries; and waited, with about 6000 men, for the expected assault of the insurgents. On the morning of the 4th of October (12th Vendemiaire), the insurgents, in immense masses, and with 30,000 of the national guards assisting them, began to hem in the Convention. They already filled the principal street leading to the Convention, and were pressing on, confident of success, when Bonaparte, standing by the guns, gave the order to fire. Immediately the great guns boomed one after another, sending their murderous discharges of grape-shot into the midst of the dense masses in front of them. The insurgents wavered, recoiled, and at last fled in all directions. This was before nine o'clock in the morning; and from that moment the French Revolution, properly so called, was at an end, and a new order of things began to shape itself out of the long confusion of the previous years. Of this new order of things, the little Corsican artillery-officer, whose resolution had decided the day, was to be the central figure. He was then twenty-six years of age.

222. THE DIRECTORY.—The Convention now ceased to exist, and France passed under a new form of government —that of the *Directory*, with its Council of Five Hundred, its Council of Ancients, and its executive body of five. The first five directors were Barras, Carnot, Rewbel, Le Tourneur, and Lareveillère-Lepaux—all of whom had been revolutionists, and had voted for the death of Louis XVI., but were now bent on the restoration of order.

223. The Directory, during their first year of power, met with great success. The most tyrannical acts of the old government were repealed or modified; the press was again made free; police regulations were enforced; and society, released from the suffocating terrors of proscription, began a course of more than usual luxuriousness and gaiety. The churches still remained closed, and the forms of religion were neglected; but gradually there arose a disposition more favourable to a restoration of these forms. One of the directors, Lareveillère-Lepaux, was distinguished by a passion for deistical religion as opposed to Christianity, and attempted to introduce new forms of worship appropriate to such a religion. Of the directors, however, by far the most able and active was Carnot; and on him the main business of government depended. Barras, though an able man, was of an indolent and easy temper, and could only be roused to action by difficult emergencies. Such an emergency at length occurred. Early in 1796, the extreme democratic party in Paris, under the inspiration of a fanatical leader, called Gracchus Babœuf, founded a new club, to succeed that of the Jacobins. The club having been suppressed by the government, Babœuf and his associates formed a conspiracy for murdering the directors and reviving the Reign of Terror. They tried to gain over some of the troops to their scheme, but failed; and the execution of Babœuf, with a number of his agents, extinguished the plot.

224. More formidable than these plots of the anarchists against the stability of the new government, was a new insurrection of the royalists in La Vendée. It has been mentioned (§ 214) that, in 1793, the severe measures adopted by the Convention against the enthusiastic royalists of this part of France had restored the appearance of submission, except in a few districts, where the surviving Vendean chiefs, Stofflet and Charette, still kept bands of the peasants in arms. On the fall of Robespierre, a treaty was made with these chiefs, and peace seemed finally restored. It did not last long, however. The emigrants still placed their chief hopes in the strong royalist feeling of the population in the north-west of France, and, assisted

by the British fleets which cruised along the coast, they landed arms and stores at various points, and again prevailed on the peasantry to flock round the royalist standard. During the greater part of 1795, and the first months of 1796, the existence of the republic was endangered by this new rising in the north-west. The skill and energy of General Hoche, however, who was sent with a powerful army into the insurgent districts, crushed the movement: the peninsula of Quiberon, where a mass of the royalists had intrenched themselves, was carried by the republican troops with a terrible slaughter of their opponents; the straggling bands of insurgents were pursued and broken up; Stofflet and Charette were taken and shot; and George Cadoudal, another insurgent chief, took refuge in England. The month of March 1796 was the date of the termination of this insurrection, usually termed the *Chouan War*, from the fact that the insurgent peasantry called themselves *Chouans*.

225. The question of the finances was one of a most baffling nature. It has already been mentioned that, to meet the enormous expenses of the Revolution, the successive governments that had been in power had adopted the uniform plan of issuing paper-money, called *assignats*, consisting of bonds on the national property, arising from the appropriation of crown and church lands, and the confiscation of private estates. In the unsettled state of affairs, however, these assignats had deteriorated in value, in spite of all efforts to give them a forced circulation; so that at length an assignat, purporting to be a promise to pay 1000 francs out of the national lands, would not have been accepted by a washerwoman or the driver of a cabriolet as equivalent to one franc in coin. At the time of the accession of the Directory to power, a quantity of these assignats was in circulation, amounting in nominal value to 18,933,500,000 francs, or nearly £760,000,000 sterling. To reduce this vast debt, various measures were adopted—a loan in specie, new paper-money under new names, and the like; but all schemes failed; and at last, to get quit of the enormous burden, a national bankruptcy was declared. The government was thus enabled to bring

the annual revenue within the natural limits of the annual expenditure; but even thus, much difficulty was experienced in raising the revenue, and various unpopular taxes had to be imposed. Perhaps the most remarkable effect of that pecuniary disturbance, which constituted so important a part of the domestic history of the French Revolution, was the change of individual fortunes which it occasioned. While the old families lost their property, and were reduced to comparative poverty, many individuals of the humblest ranks became suddenly rich by speculating in the national lands, which they purchased in considerable quantities at a merely nominal value.

226. Whilst order was thus being restored within France, a series of most important transactions, growing out of the wars in which the republic had been engaged with the great European powers, was going on beyond the national frontiers. Holland, overrun by the French arms, was no longer a separate European state, but was incorporated with France (1795). In February 1795, the grand-duke of Tuscany abandoned the coalition and concluded a treaty with the Directory. His example was followed by the king of Prussia, whose finances had been exhausted, and his hopes of success crushed by numerous losses (April 1795). After a short time, Spain likewise seceded from the allies, and concluded a peace. In short, before the close of the year 1795, the only powers that remained leagued against France were Austria, Great Britain, and Russia, with some of the small Italian states, whose territories the French had invaded and still held. In September 1795, a 'Triple Alliance' was formed by these powers at St Petersburg, for continuing the war until the French Republic should be annihilated, and the Bourbons restored.

227. At this point, it is necessary to glance aside for a moment at a part of Europe where, during the progress of the great Revolution in France, a most important change had been going on—a change consummated precisely at the time at which we have now arrived, and which exerted a considerable influence, not only on the war then about

to begin between the Directory and the allied European powers, but also on the whole subsequent history of Europe.

228. It will be remembered that in the year 1773, or sixteen years before the French Revolution broke out, the once great nation of *Poland* had been subjected to most cruel treatment on the part of the three neighbouring powers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria (§§ 155, 156). On that occasion, these three powers, taking advantage of the anarchy which prevailed in Poland, effected a partition of that country, by which they deprived her of one-fourth part of her entire territories, or about 71,100 square miles in all—of which Russia took 32,400 square miles; Austria, 27,900 square miles; and Prussia, 10,800 square miles. It has also been mentioned that, after this partition, so lawlessly effected by the powers in question, and so quietly permitted by the other powers of Europe, the Poles of the remaining three-fourths of the country began, as if taught by misfortune, to do their best to regain their position and character in Europe, by entering on a career of national improvement and reform. They were engaged in this work, under their king Poniatowski, when the French Revolution broke out; and it is probable that the spectacle of that great movement in France contributed to the zeal with which the Polish diet proceeded in their task. At length, in 1791, the task was completed, and a new fundamental law of Poland was promulgated. By this law, the crown of Poland was declared to be no longer elective, but hereditary; the succession, after the death of the reigning king, Poniatowski, to be in the line of the electoral House of Saxony, the princes of which house had already for nearly a century had connections with Poland. At the same time the constitution was thoroughly reformed, the diet being separated into two houses, not unlike the Houses of Lords and Commons in Great Britain; the method of election to the diet being distinctly arranged, and the absurd rule of the *liberum veto* being annulled. Serfdom was also abolished; religious toleration was established, with the maintenance, however, of Roman Catholicism as the state-religion; and numerous

changes of system were made with a view to social improvement. Over all Europe there were rejoicings at this revolution in the condition of Poland, so much more moderate in its character than the revolution contemporaneously going on in France.

229. But the hopes of Europe with respect to Poland were soon extinguished. The Empress Catherine of Russia, one of the partners in the partition of 1773, had ever since that time had her eye on Poland, as a country destined, according to the policy which the Czar Peter the Great had bequeathed to his successors, to be incorporated with the dominions of Russia. Availing herself, therefore, of the preoccupation of all the European nations with the affairs of France, she had no sooner heard of the promulgation of the new Polish constitution, than, on the pretext that it was against Russian interests that such a constitution should be adopted, she ordered her armies across the Polish frontier. The Poles, with their king, Poniatowski, at their head, flocked to arms; the king of Prussia, Frederick-William II., promised them his assistance; and during a campaign of six weeks, seven battles were fought against the Russians. The overwhelming military strength of Russia, however, gave her the advantage; and the king of Prussia betrayed his promise, and agreed with Russia on a second spoliation of Poland. By this second partition, which was completed in 1793, in the midst of the war going on between the first coalition of European powers and the French Convention, Poland lost no less than 120,800 square miles of what had been left to her after the first partition—of which Russia took 98,000, and Prussia 22,800 square miles, Austria this time taking nothing. The other nations of Europe were shocked by this transaction; but all their energies being expended in the war with the French Republic, Russia and Prussia were allowed to act according to their pleasure.

230. One more struggle, and even the poor remainder of Poland—a tract of only 86,100 square miles, with a population of about 4,000,000, out of what had once been a country of 280,000 square miles, with a population of 20,000,000—was to be blotted out from the map of

Europe. Among the Polish generals who had fought in the campaign which preceded the second partition, was Thaddeus Kosciusko, a Lithuanian by birth, and of about forty-nine years of age, who had left his country soon after the first partition in 1773, lived some time in America, and served, like Lafayette, in the American War of Independence, and finally returned to Poland full of the spirit of freedom. A friend of Kosciusko, and of similar sentiments, was a young literary man named Niemcewicz. These two men, though expelled from Poland by the second partition, still kept up, from Germany and Italy, communications with the patriotic youth of Poland, and with the wrecks of the Polish army which had fought in 1792 against the Russians. A vast conspiracy was arranged, which at length, in March 1794, burst forth in open insurrection. The movement began in Cracow, where Kosciusko suddenly appeared at the head of a band of young men; but it extended itself like wild-fire over the whole country. For eight months the struggle lasted, the Poles behaving with incredible valour, and fighting no fewer than fourteen great battles against the forces of Catherine. Numbers, however, again prevailed over patriotism, and the fatal battle of Maciejowice (October 10, 1794) crushed the last hopes of Poland. Kosciusko, almost hacked to pieces by wounds, was taken prisoner in this battle, along with Niemcewicz and many other Poles of distinction. They were immediately conveyed as prisoners to St Petersburg, while the Russian armies, overrunning Poland, completed the conquest. The result was as might have been expected. Austria and Prussia, though they would not have consented to allow Russia to incorporate the conquered territory as a whole with her dominions, were easily persuaded to agree to a third partition, in which they should have a share; and accordingly, in 1795, all that remained of Poland was distributed among the three powers in the following proportions:—43,500 square miles to Russia, 20,900 square miles to Austria, and 21,700 square miles to Prussia. Thus was Poland literally annihilated, all that space which she had once occupied in the map being

appropriated by her three former neighbours. The dispossessed King Poniatowski was taken prisoner, and conveyed to St Petersburg, where he died in 1798, one year after the Russian Empress Catherine. Paul, the successor of Catherine, released Kosciusko, Niemcewicz, and their companions, and sent them to America. Kosciusko, crippled by his wounds, lived till 1817, when he died in Switzerland; Niemcewicz survived till 1841.

231. There is no doubt that, at any other time, such terrible injustice as that which had been perpetrated against Poland by the second and third partitions would have occasioned the active interference of the other European powers. As it was, however, nothing was done. Great Britain, at war with France, and allied in this war with the powers which had partitioned Poland, could only remonstrate and protest against the injustice; and the French Republic, though appealed to, had hitherto been too much engrossed with the work of self-defence to be able to assist other peoples against oppression. And thus the Polish question remained, as it were, in reserve; and the blood of the slaughtered Polish nation continued to cry aloud from the ground on which it had been shed. As was natural, the hopes of the denationalised Poles from that day were associated with the success of the French Republic. Accordingly, from this time forward, we find Poles serving in great numbers in the French armies. No sooner, for example, had the Triple Alliance against France been formed by Great Britain, Austria, and Russia, than Polish officers and soldiers, fresh from Kosciusko's campaign, and burning with a desire of vengeance against two of the powers of the alliance, offered their services in the armies of the Directory.

232. The Directory, inspired by the genius of Carnot, made extraordinary exertions to resist the efforts of the European coalition. Three fine armies were sent into the field—the army of the Sambre and Meuse, to conduct the war on the territory marked out by these rivers; the army of the Rhine and the Moselle, whose scene of operations was also to be in Germany; and the army of Italy,

whose destination was the northern part of the Italian peninsula, where the French were then contending with the Austrians, the king of Piedmont, and other Italian princes. The command of the first was intrusted to General Jourdan; that of the second to General Moreau, whose great military abilities had already been tested in various fields; and that of the third to young General Bonaparte, on whom, since the affair of Vendemiaire, the leading men in France placed their chief reliance. Before departing on his important command, Bonaparte married a lady of some distinction in Parisian society—Josephine, the widow of the revolutionary General Beauharnais, who had been guillotined during the Reign of Terror.

233. In Germany, where the armies of Jourdan and Moreau were opposed by the Austrians and their auxiliaries under the Archduke Charles of Austria, one of the ablest commanders of the age, the war was conducted with various fortune. Moreau gained great credit as a general; but, on the whole, nothing decisive was accomplished. It was very different with the army of Italy. At the head of this army, the young Corsican general gained a series of successes so rapid and so brilliant as to strike the allies with dismay, and attract the regards of all Europe. The victories of Montenotte, Dego, Millesimo, Ceva, and Mondovi, gained within a few weeks over the Austrian general, Beaulieu, and the Sardinian general, Colli, asserted the superiority of the French, and obliged the king of Sardinia to sign a truce, by which he surrendered three fortresses (April 1796). Bonaparte then crossed the Po, compelled the Duke of Parma to yield, and, by the famous victory of the Bridge of Lodi (May 9), became master of Lombardy. Milan opened its gates to him; the Duke of Modena sued for a truce; the king of Naples and the pope signed treaties of neutrality; the king of Sardinia concluded a definitive peace, by which he ceded Savoy and Nice to France; and the French, though the Duke of Tuscany was at peace with them, occupied Leghorn, and seized the British merchandise in that port. Thus the burden of the Italian war was devolved entirely on Austria. Mantua alone of

their Italian possessions remained to the Austrians. To relieve the siege of this town, and, if possible, to turn the fortunes of the war, the court of Vienna sent a fresh army of 50,000 men into Italy, under Wurmser, one of their veteran generals. This famous general of the old school, however, could do nothing against the rapid movements of his young antagonist, who paid no attention to the regular rules of war; and after various defeats, Wurmser himself, with the wrecks of his army, took refuge in Mantua, the siege of which was renewed by the French. Two additional armies, despatched after this by the Austrians to relieve the town, the one under Alvinzi, and the other under Davidovitch, were met by Bonaparte and defeated—the one at Arcole (November 17), the other at Rivoli (November 21). The fame of these victories spread over all Europe; and Bonaparte, then only in his twenty-eighth year, was recognised as a military genius of a new order.

234. The exploits of the campaign of 1797 rivalled those of the campaign of 1796. A fresh Austrian force of 80,000 men, under Alvinzi, was routed and dispersed; and Wurmser was obliged to surrender Mantua by capitulation (February 2, 1797). Bonaparte, now supreme in Italy, proceeded at his discretion, exacting all sorts of submissions from the Italian princes, and, in particular, from the pope, whom he obliged to cede the towns of Ferrara, Bologna, and Romagna, with their territories. It was in vain that the Austrians sent their greatest commander, the Archduke Charles, to retrieve what had been lost. The archduke was obliged to retire; and Bonaparte, having no more victories to gain in Italy, led his army across the Alps, invaded Austria itself, and prepared to march on Vienna. The difficulties of his situation, however, prevented him from pushing on his conquests further at that moment, and induced him to offer peace to the Austrian cabinet. A treaty was concluded at Leoben in April 1797, on terms comparatively favourable to the Austrians. After this treaty, Bonaparte proceeded to further innovations in the political arrangements of Northern Italy. He overturned the republic of Venice,

thus blotting out from the map of Europe a state which had existed for more than a thousand years (May 16); he compelled the Genoese to change their form of government, and constitute themselves a protected state, under the name of the Ligurian Republic (June 9); and those parts of Lombardy which the Austrians had ceded, he formed into a new Italian union, to be called the Cisalpine Republic (June 29). These transactions, and the resolution both of Bonaparte himself and the Directory to obtain greater advantages than were secured by the Peace of Leoben, occasioned a new settlement between France and Austria, known as the Peace of Campo Formio (October 17, 1797). By this peace, arranged between Bonaparte and the Austrian plenipotentiary, the territories of Venice were divided into two portions—Austria to possess as far as the Adige, including Venice itself; while all to the west of the Adige, together with all Austrian Lombardy, Peschiera, Mantua, the Modenese territory, and the ceded papal cities of Ferrara, Bologna, and Romagna, should compose the independent government of the Cisalpine Republic. Flanders, the Ionian Islands, and certain other territories, were ceded to France. Certain secret articles were inserted in the treaty, providing for the future extension of the French frontier as far as the Rhine, and for the indemnification of those German states which would suffer from this extension. It was agreed, also, that a congress should be opened at Rastadt, for the settlement of a general peace between France and the German Empire.

235. During the year 1798, negotiations were carried on at Rastadt between deputies from the French Directory and the representatives of the various German states, with a view to a final settlement between the French and the German nations. While these negotiations were going on, the Directory were relieved from the immediate difficulties of a war with the nearest continental powers, and were at liberty to prosecute measures against the more distant members of the coalition. Great Britain, as the most powerful of these, occupied a great share of their attention. It was resolved to attack her where she was

supposed to be most vulnerable—namely, in her Eastern Empire. Egypt being the great commercial highway to India, it was conceived that the conquest of this country would inflict an irreparable blow upon the power of Britain. Bonaparte, who was full of this idea, and had always regarded the East as the fittest theatre for such exploits as suited his genius, was selected by the Directory to execute their scheme. On the 19th of May 1798, a French fleet, with Bonaparte and 40,000 French troops on board, set sail from Toulon for Egypt. On the way, it stopped at Malta, then in the possession of the ancient Order of the Knights of St John, which island Bonaparte seized, under the pretext of a capitulation by the knights. On the 2d of July, the French army disembarked at Alexandria, and at once proceeded to occupy Egypt, notwithstanding that France was then at peace with the Porte. On the 1st of August, however, an English fleet, under Lord Nelson, which had gone in search of the French fleet, came up with it near Alexandria; and in a terrible naval battle of thirty-six hours, which was fought in the Bay of Aboukir, the French fleet was defeated. Bonaparte was thus left to prosecute the war in Egypt, cut off from his communications with France by sea.

236. Meanwhile, the negotiations at Rastadt led to nothing decisive. The events which were taking place in various parts of Europe under the influence of the French Directory, shewed that Germany would again have to join in a European war. The Cisalpine Republic, which Austria had hoped might be a really independent state, fell entirely under the control of the French; and a treaty was concluded, by which the government of this new Italian state agreed to receive and support a French occupying army of 25,000 men. Nor was this all. Availing themselves of a tumult in Rome, in which a French general was killed, the Directory authorised an invasion of the ecclesiastical states; upset the papal government (February 15, 1798); carried the ruling pontiff, Pius VI., a prisoner to France, where he died in August 1799; and erected on the ruins of the pontificate a new Italian state, called the Roman Republic. The agent of

the Directory in this important transaction was General Berthier. An attempt made by the king of Naples to drive the French out of Rome, drew the wrath of the Directory upon that sovereign; his kingdom was invaded, and he was obliged to take refuge in Sicily, leaving Naples to be defended by its inhabitants. A brave defence was made, but the French, under General Championnet, entered the city; and the kingdom of Naples was converted into the Parthenopean Republic (January 25, 1799). In a similar manner, war was declared against the king of Sardinia, Charles Emanuel IV., who was obliged to resign his dominions into the hands of the French, and retire to the island of Sardinia. Thus, with the exception of the portion of the Venetian territories given to Austria by the Treaty of Campo Formio, the whole Italian peninsula was in the possession of the French, either directly, or as protectors of the nominal republics that they had set up—the *Cisalpine Republic*, the *Ligurian Republic*, the *Roman Republic*, and the *Parthenopean Republic*. Nor was this revolutionary action of the Directory confined to Italy. Switzerland was also invaded, and converted into a *Helvetic Republic*, subject to France.

237. In these circumstances, the European powers again resolved to throw their united strength into the struggle which, for some time, Great Britain had been maintaining alone. In the course of the year 1798, and the early part of 1799, a number of treaties were concluded, the effect of which was to associate Austria, Great Britain, Russia, the king of the Two Sicilies, Portugal, Bavaria, and some minor German states, together with the Ottoman Porte, in a coalition against the French Republic. Prussia, however, kept aloof.

238. The war, already inevitable, was precipitated by the breaking up of the congress of Rastadt, on the 7th of April 1799, and by the assassination by some Austrian hussars of the French plenipotentiaries on their way back to Paris. It burst out furiously wherever the French had planted themselves. In Switzerland, the Archduke Charles, at the head of a large Austrian army, was opposed

to the French under Generals Jourdan and Massena. In Italy, where a Russian army, commanded by the famous Suwarrow, appeared to head the cause of the coalition, the conduct of the war on the French side devolved on Generals Macdonald, Championnet, Gauthier, Joubert, and Moreau. The British, besides largely subsidising the allies, and maintaining their cause at sea, sent a force of 12,000 men, under the Duke of York, into the Low Countries, where they were opposed by General Brune.

239. The fortune of the war was various. The abilities of such generals as Massena, Macdonald, and Moreau, all trained in the school of the Revolution, sustained the credit of the French arms in Italy and Switzerland; and the British expedition to the Low Countries proved a total failure. On the whole, however, the preponderating strength of the Russians and the Austrians, under such commanders as Suwarrow and the Archduke Charles, made itself felt; and by the latter part of 1799, the French had been compelled to evacuate Switzerland, and had nearly lost their hold of Italy. The passage of the Alps by the Russian army under Suwarrow is one of the most famous exploits in the annals of war.

240. While the armies of the republic were thus fighting its battles beyond its frontiers, the internal condition of the country had become very precarious. The royalist cause had been secretly growing stronger and stronger throughout France, and threatening to subvert the republicanism of the ruling bodies. It was not, however, till the elections of 1797 that the crisis had become imminent. According to the constitution, one-third of the members of the two councils retired at each election; and the result of the election in that year was to send so many royalists into the councils as to give them the majority. Pichegru and Barbe-Marbois, both of them of royalist leanings, were chosen presidents of the councils; and on the retirement of one of the five directors, Le Tourneur, his place was filled up by the election of Barthelemy, an anti-republican. In the clubs, and in the press, royalism was in the ascendant. Laws were even passed permitting the return to France of the emigrant priests and other

friends of the Bourbon cause. Finally, Carnot himself, the most active and resolute man of the Directory, was known to be becoming more favourable to a system which should subject France to a crowned head. The three remaining directors, however — Barras, Rewbel, and Lareveillère-Lepaux—were firm in their republican faith; and knowing that the army was on their side, and having secured the assent of the chiefs of the army—particularly Bonaparte, then in Italy, and Hoche, then in France—they prepared a plot for turning out their colleagues, and saving the republic by an act of violence. On the night of the 17th of Fructidor (September 3, 1797), a *coup d'état* was executed by the resolute directors, aided by a body of troops under General Augereau, whom Bonaparte had sent as a fit agent for the purpose; the councils were surrounded, and several hundreds of the royalist members —including Pichegru, Barthelemy, and other men of note —were seized and imprisoned. Carnot escaped to Geneva; many of the others, together with some hundreds of returned priests and emigrants, were shipped to the pestilential colony of Guiana; and the triumphant faction hastened to enact rigorous laws against the royalists throughout France. Freedom of the press, trial by jury, and other guarantees of liberty, were abolished; and a species of despotism established under the forms of the Directory.

241. It was during the rule of the Directory, as remodelled by the military coup d'état of the 18th of Fructidor, that Bonaparte had concluded his splendid career of Italian warfare. He and the other generals did the work of the republic abroad, while the directors, supported by Augereau and a portion of the soldiery, conducted the government at home. Rewbel, one of the directors, having retired by rotation, was succeeded by the celebrated Sièyes, whose influence had been so great throughout the early part of the Revolution, and who was one of the few chiefs of that period who lived through the subsequent terrors and convulsions. But the events of the years 1798 and 1799 had proved too strong for the rule of the Directory, even with the intellect of Sièyes

added to their counsels. Fresh changes were made: Barras and Sièyes, assisted by the military, turned out the other directors, in whose places three new men—Gohier, Moulins, and Roger Ducos—were appointed (May 1799). Still, the government was unable to cope with the difficulties of the crisis. To meet the enormous expenses of the wars then going on, the most desperate financial expedients were necessary; while, to maintain the vast armies of the republic in Italy, Switzerland, Holland, and Egypt, the directors were obliged to have recourse to a law of conscription, which thinned the country of its youth and strength, and caused great discontent throughout the provinces. Had the campaign of 1799 been successful, public opinion might have supported the government in its measures; but the disasters of that year in Italy and Switzerland broke the national confidence. The Jacobins and anarchists again plotted and conspired in Paris and other great towns; and, to add to the confusion, a new rising of the Chouans took place in the north-west, under Cadoudal—who had returned from England—the Count de Bourmont, and other royalist leaders. The republic seemed on the eve of ruin. Only one thing could save it—the appearance, at the centre of affairs, of some powerful military chief able to take into his own hands the entire direction of affairs, civil as well as military. Sièyes, by far the ablest of the directors, saw this. 'What we want,' he said, 'is a head.' At the very moment he uttered these words, the want was on the point of being supplied.

242. We left Napoleon Bonaparte in Egypt, shut out from all direct communication with France by Nelson's naval victory of Aboukir, or the Nile, in August 1798, the result of which was to give the British fleet the complete command of the Mediterranean Sea. Though thus deprived of all hope of reinforcements, Bonaparte had not lost courage, but had prosecuted the great enterprise on which he was engaged with all the ardour of his genius. Egypt, though nominally governed by a pacha of the sultan of Constantinople, was then really subject to an association of Mameluke chiefs, who ruled

the motley population of Arabs, Turks, and Copts by means of troops of Turkish soldiers. Advancing boldly into the midst of this population, Bonaparte had already made himself master of the country by the great battle of the Pyramids (July 21, 1798), fought under the walls of Cairo, before the victory of the Nile had been gained by Nelson. That blow was a severe one; but, aided by the able generals under his command, particularly Murat, Berthier, Desaix, and Kleber, as well as by the scientific and literary men whom he had taken in his train in order to turn to account his conquests in so famous a land, he proceeded to arrange a new government in Egypt, and convert it into a dependency of France. As he was careful not to offend the Mohammedan prejudices of the natives, and as the new administration which he introduced was infinitely better for the mass of the people than that to which they had been accustomed, he became very popular, and a report was spread over the adjacent regions of Asia and Africa that the Deity had sent the Frankish conqueror to be their lord and benefactor. Bonaparte himself did not despair of being able, with the help of his brave army, to rouse the Oriental populations in his favour, and so establish a new empire on the ruin of that of the Turks. French envoys of the Directory, including Talleyrand, were at Constantinople, trying to represent the expedition to Egypt as a movement not in its nature hostile to the sultan; but their efforts failed, and the Porte declared war against France, joined the coalition of the European powers, and prepared to send forces to recover Egypt. To anticipate their exertions, Bonaparte marched into Syria, taking with him that portion of his army which remained after leaving garrisons in Egypt. His hope was, that the Syrians would rally round him, and that thus, with a power increasing as he went, he might reach Constantinople through Asia Minor. The obstinate resistance of the town of Acre, in Palestine, the defence of which was conducted by Sir Sidney Smith, an English naval officer, who offered his services for the purpose to the Turkish pacha, dispelled this illusion. In May 1799, Bonaparte retreated from Palestine back into

Egypt, where, after various fresh successes against the Turks, he received such reports of the disorganised state of the home-government, that he resolved to return to France. Accordingly, abandoning his notion of a career of Oriental conquest, and leaving General Kleber in command of the army in Egypt, he embarked secretly with his staff at Alexandria on the 22d of August, and, after some narrow escapes from the British vessels cruising in the Mediterranean, landed at Frejus on the 8th of October. On his journey from Frejus to Paris, he was saluted with the enthusiastic acclamations of the people. It was felt that France had now found a master.

243. About a month was spent by Bonaparte in making preparations for the great stroke on which he had resolved, and in gaining over to his views the leading men in the state and the chief generals. It was between Bonaparte himself and Sièyes that measures were finally concerted—Talleyrand, Fouché, Roger Ducos, and others, chiefly members of the Council of Ancients, being more or less in the secret. On the 18th Brumaire (November 9, 1799), the Council of the Ancients passed decrees dissolving the Directory, and transferring the seat of the Council of Five Hundred from Paris to St Cloud. Bonaparte was authorised to see these decrees carried into effect. The dissolution of the Directory was easy. Sièyes and Ducos resigned; Barras, though taken by surprise, was gained over; and the other two directors, Gohier and Moulins, were arrested. The Council of the Five Hundred gave more trouble. Notwithstanding the exertions of Bonaparte's brother, Lucien, who was their president at the time, they opposed the impending change; when Bonaparte appeared among them, he was received with cries of 'No Cromwell!' 'Death to the Dictator!' so that he quailed, and had to retire; and they were proceeding to pass a vote declaring him outlawed, when a body of grenadiers entered, and dispersed them with drawn bayonets, many of them leaping through the windows to escape. For this bold act in his favour, Bonaparte was indebted to his brother Lucien, who gave the orders to the grenadiers. On the following day (November 11), a number of the members of both

councils met, and passed a decree abolishing the existing constitution, adjourning the councils for three months, and vesting the supreme power provisionally in Bonaparte, Sièyes, and Ducos, as consuls. A commission of twenty-five was appointed to assist the consuls in drawing up a new constitution. Sièyes, who had had great experience as a constitution-maker, proposed one of a very elaborate kind, to which Bonaparte at once objected; and at last Sièyes was obliged to shape his plan according to Bonaparte's wishes. According to this plan, which came into effect on the 22d Frimaire (December 13, 1799), the supreme power was to be vested in three consuls, chosen for ten years, of whom one, entitled 'The First Consul,' should be chief in all matters, the others only advising him; while the legislature should consist of three bodies—a senate, nominated by the consuls, and holding their places for life; a tribunate, of 100 members, who were to discuss measures referred to them by government, but not to originate any; and a legislative body of 300, who were to vote on measures, but not to debate. The members of the two elective bodies were to be chosen from a list of persons, called the notables of France; which list was to be formed by taking one-tenth of a larger list of the notables of the departments: these notables of departments, again, being a selection of one-tenth of the notables of the communes, chosen by the votes of the people. Thus the people were to have next to no voice in the government, their influence being confined to the communal elections; while all the high offices of state were to be conferred only on the members of a select body of about 6000 persons, sifted out of all France by a triple process of election. The new constitution, therefore, was in fact, though not in name, an abolition of the republic.

244. Bonaparte, as First Consul, became virtually the monarch of France. His colleagues were Cambacérès and Lebrun, two men of ability and virtue, qualified to co-operate with him without taking too much upon themselves. Talleyrand was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs; Fouché, Minister of Police; and other offices were conferred on persons on whom Bonaparte could rely.

Sièyes, whose idea of his own merits prevented his undertaking any subordinate part, retired, with applauses and rewards, into private life. It might have been thought that the new order of things would have been opposed by some of the numerous generals who, during the wars of the republic, had acquired fame and influence. But so high was the reputation of Bonaparte, that almost all the generals gave in their adhesion to the new government. As regards the French people at large, fatigued with revolution, they accepted the new change, if not with pleasure, at least without complaint.

245. THE CONSULATE.—The first care of Bonaparte, as consul, was to bring about an arrangement between France and the hostile European powers. In an autograph letter to George III., written a fortnight after his accession to the consulate, he urged a conciliation between France and Great Britain. The British minister, Pitt, however, was resolute against any peace with France which did not include a restoration of royalty in that country; and Bonaparte's overtures were neglected. The war was, therefore, resumed with great energy on both sides. The Russian emperor, Paul I., disgusted with the conduct of the allies, had resolved to retire from the contest; and, accordingly, the Russian troops were withdrawn from their position in Central Europe, and the burden of the contest was left to be borne by Great Britain and Austria, with such of the minor powers as adhered to the coalition.

246. A very short time sufficed to shew the coalition that France, under her new rule, was more formidable than ever. Two splendid armies were fitted out, the one destined for Germany, the other for Italy. The command of the army of Germany was given to Moreau, and Bonaparte reserved for himself the command of the army in Italy. In the spring of 1800, Bonaparte crossed the Alps, and threw himself into the struggle which was going on in Northern Italy between the French under Massena, and the Austrians under General Melas. The great victory of Marengo (June 14) decided the fate of the

campaign. A truce was concluded, bestowing Alessandria, Tortona, Turin, Genoa, and other Italian cities on the French; and Bonaparte returned to France, leaving Brune and other generals in command. Meanwhile Moreau had been ably prosecuting the war in Germany. In these circumstances, Austria consented to negotiate for peace. On account of differences as to the terms, the negotiations were broken off in November 1800; and it was not till after the Archduke John had been signally defeated by Moreau, in the famous battle of Hohenlinden (December 3), that Austria saw the necessity of accepting peace on any terms. A treaty, settled by Joseph Bonaparte, the elder brother of the First Consul, as representative of France, and Count Louis de Cobentzl, as deputy of Austria, was signed at Luneville on the 9th of February 1801; and the war between France and Austria was at an end. By this treaty all the territory on the left bank of the Rhine was ceded to France, and the Austrian possessions in Italy were limited as before. The emperor also recognised the Batavian, Helvetic, Ligurian, and Cisalpine Republics, as states affiliated to France. The grand-dukes of Tuscany and Modena were to resign their claims as Italian potentates, and to receive as a recompense territories in Germany.

247. Peace having been concluded with Austria, the other powers did not hold out long. The king of the Two Sicilies was glad to come to terms; and his Neapolitan dominions were restored to him under certain conditions. Bonaparte likewise came to an understanding with the pope, Pius VII., and restored to him a certain modified sovereignty over the papal states. Treaties were made by which Portugal ceased her opposition; and both that country and Spain became allies of France (September 1801). The Russian Emperor Paul, who had retired from the contest early in 1800, had been gradually becoming friendly to Bonaparte's government; but, before a treaty between France and Russia could be arranged, Paul was cut off by assassination. A treaty, however, was at once concluded by his son and successor, the Emperor Alexander, by which France and Russia came to a good understanding

with each other, and agreed to co-operate in the affairs of Europe (October 11, 1801). After this reconciliation between two such great powers as Russia and France, it only remained to come to an arrangement with Great Britain and the Ottoman Porte; and, after some delay, such an arrangement was effected.

248. The occupation of Egypt by the French was the chief cause of protracted hostilities between France and Great Britain. General Kleber, whom Bonaparte had left in command of the French army of occupation, now reduced to 12,000 men, kept up a brave resistance against the Turks till March 1801, when he fell a victim to the dagger of a Turkish fanatic. His successor, General Menou, resolved to continue in possession of the country; but a British force under Sir Ralph Abercromby having landed in Egypt, the French were defeated in a battle near Alexandria, in which the British general lost his life. Menou was, accordingly, obliged to capitulate; and the French evacuated Egypt, and were conveyed home to their native country. As, in the meantime, the island of Malta had been surrendered to the British, there remained no grounds for continuing the war; and, after considerable negotiation, the celebrated Peace of Amiens was concluded (March 27, 1802). By this peace it was arranged that the British should retain only the island of Trinidad and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon out of all the conquests they had made by means of their navy during the war; it was also arranged that Malta should be restored to the Knights of St John, and that the independence of the island should be guaranteed by Great Britain and France, in conjunction with four other European powers. Egypt was restored to the sultan, between whom and France a separate treaty was concluded.

249. The Peace of Luneville, followed so soon by that of Amiens, relieved Bonaparte from the labours of war, and enabled him to turn his attention to the internal affairs of France. Although himself a child of the Revolution, his whole mind was now bent on establishing a firm central authority, and promoting measures of civilisation and improvement, such as would repair the wrecks of the

preceding thirteen years, and develop the resources of the French people. His first care was to suppress those relics both of the extreme royalist party and of the extreme Jacobins from which his government was in danger. An attempt of some royalist conspirators to kill him by the explosion of an infernal machine, in a street through which he was passing in his carriage on the way to the Opera (September 24, 1800), furnished him with a reason for severe measures against both parties. A skilful secret police was organised by Fouché, by means of which traitors were traced and arrested; and a number of the most notorious and violent men of the old Jacobin faction were transported in a mass. In order further to check the popular power, he introduced a new aristocratic element into the state by creating 'The Legion of Honour'—a kind of honorary peerage, to which persons who distinguished themselves by their merits in the public service could be raised. More bold, and less popular, were some other measures which he adopted at the same period. He invited back to France the greater proportion of the emigrants, insuring their safety by an act of amnesty, from which only about 1000 of the most distinguished royalist exiles were excluded. He would even have restored to the returned emigrants portions of their ancient estates, had not these estates, with few exceptions, passed irrecoverably into other hands.

250. For ten years France had been without any established form of religion; and during that time, many churches had been demolished or used as mere secular buildings, while the majority of the inhabitants of Paris and other towns had either become open atheists or had adopted a vague kind of deism as their sole religious faith. Only in the rural districts, and in a few of the towns, did there linger a sincere attachment to the ancient national church, and habits of respect for the ancient religious forms. Convinced, however, of the necessity of an established religion and an established church, as means of social order for his purposes, Bonaparte did not hesitate to take steps for their restoration. A concordat, as it was called—that is, an act of agreement between the pope and the new

government of France—was arranged and signed; and this was speedily followed by a law reorganising the national church, and appointing ten archbishops, fifty bishops, and a sufficient number of parish priests, to be paid by the state. Care was of course taken to render the new church practically independent of the papal control, and subject in all essential matters to Bonaparte's government. The peasantry of France were delighted to have their Sundays and the regular parochial forms of religion restored to them, while foreign powers regarded France as now no longer out of the pale of Christian nations.

251. Among Bonaparte's measures of government were many having special reference to commerce, to the colonies, and to the means of public instruction in France. Public works for the embellishment of Paris and other towns, and for the strengthening of the sea-ports, were not neglected. It was at this time, also, that Bonaparte commenced a great undertaking, the results of which outlasted his military triumphs, and still endure, as a monument of his great and comprehensive genius. This was the famous *Code Napoleon*, or revised edition of the laws of France. The preparation of this code was intrusted to the ablest lawyers and statesmen whose services Bonaparte could command; but he attended their deliberations himself, discussed every article with them, and determined its final form. The sagacity which he displayed in these deliberations astonished those who had hitherto regarded him chiefly as a military man; and to this day the Code Napoleon, which was first promulgated in France, and afterwards imposed on other parts of Napoleon's empire, is regarded as perhaps the best system of laws ever put together under the auspices of one man. It still forms the basis of the jurisprudence, not only of France, but of many other parts of Europe.

252. In all these measures for the peace and prosperity of France, Bonaparte contemplated the continuance of his own power. The title he bore was only that of First Consul; but, as the powers with which it invested him were fully equal to those of a sovereign, he made no immediate efforts to get it changed. It was more

important that he should secure an extension of his power beyond the limited period of ten years, for which it had been originally conferred. Accordingly, after some preliminary steps, it was formally referred to the vote of all the grown-up male population of France, whether Bonaparte should be permitted to exchange his title of First Consul for ten years to that of First Consul for life. So popular was Bonaparte, such order and commercial prosperity had attended his rule hitherto, and so convinced were even those who had no good-will to himself, that any attempt to depose him would only throw France again into revolutionary confusion, or bring back the Bourbons, that out of 3,557,885 citizens whose votes were registered, scarcely 200,000 voted in the negative. Bonaparte accordingly became consul for life (August 2, 1802), with power to nominate his successor. Thus raised to a place among the permanent potentates of Europe, he began to study splendour in his court, and to affect royal ceremonial in his public appearances and embassies. Foreign courts were most respectful in their intercourse with him, and foreigners crowded to his capital, and paid him greater homage than was paid to crowned heads.

253. It was during this period of peace with the European powers, that Bonaparte fitted out an expedition for the recovery of the island of St Domingo. Before the French Revolution, this fine island—the largest in the West Indies, except Cuba—had belonged in part to the French, and in part to the Spaniards. The French part of the island was very rich, and supported a population of 40,000 whites, 60,000 mulattoes, and 500,000 negroes. The trade with this colony was by far the most valuable portion of the commerce of France. The agitations, however, caused by the French Revolution having extended to the colonies, disputes arose among the whites and mulattoes, the consequence of which was, that the negroes revolted, and became masters of the island. A brave and able negro, named Toussaint Louverture, became their leader. The revolutionary government at home tried to recover the colony, by proclaiming the emancipation of the blacks, and sending out commissioners to arrange the

disputes among the blacks, the mulattoes, and the whites; but all such efforts failed; and, after very horrible scenes of insurrection and massacre, the blacks finally triumphed, and Toussaint Louverture, though still professing to be a subject of France, became independent ruler of the colony (1794). He even conquered the Spanish portion of the island, and thus formed the whole of St Domingo into one negro dominion (1800), over which he continued to bear rule, with the aid of an army of 20,000 men. His rule was so energetic, and at the same time so popular, that the chiefs of St Domingo named him president for life. Perceiving that the island was about to be lost for ever to France, Bonaparte, early in 1802, sent out a splendid fleet, with an army of 21,000 men, commanded by his brother-in-law Leclerc, and other able generals. Toussaint and the blacks offered a terrible resistance, but they were obliged at last to submit; and Toussaint was seized, and sent over to France, where he soon afterwards died as a prisoner in the castle of Joux. The conduct of the French, however, in St Domingo, and the fears of the negroes that slavery was about to be restored in the island, occasioned a new insurrection in October 1802; and for some months a terrific war raged through the island. To the horrors of war were added those of yellow fever, which cut off nearly four-fifths of the French army, including Leclerc. There is little doubt that the French, reinforced from home, would soon have retrieved these disasters; but at the very moment when their circumstances were most desperate, a new European war broke out, and, the British fleets appearing off St Domingo to assist the negroes, the independence of the island was finally secured (1803). Since that time, Hayti, or St Domingo, has been under a native negro government.

254. The causes of the new rupture between Great Britain and France were various. The Peace of Amiens had but strewn ashes over a smouldering fire, ready to burst forth on the first opportunity. Bonaparte, after the peace, had continued to act as absolute master of the continent in all matters not specially arranged by treaty. Thus, in the course of 1802, he annexed Piedmont,

Parma, and the island of Elba, to France, availing himself of certain pretexts which enabled him to do so without openly violating his engagements. As he had already been nominated president of the Cisalpine or Italian Republic, these annexations virtually placed all Italy under his control. At the same time, he assumed the mastery of Switzerland. The Swiss, who, by the Treaty of Campo Formio, had been left to arrange their own form of government, had not succeeded in doing so; and the country, divided into various factions, was in a state of civil war, when, accepting an invitation to interfere, Bonaparte sent an army to restore order. Under his direction, a new constitution was proclaimed (February 1803), according to which Switzerland was declared to be a federative republic of nineteen cantons, each sovereign within itself and popularly governed, but all represented in a general or federative diet, which was to meet once a year in one of six Swiss towns by rotation. Whatever were the merits of these measures with respect to Italy and Switzerland, considered in themselves, they were displeasing to the government of Great Britain, who regarded them as evidences that Bonaparte had not abandoned his ambitious designs. Accordingly, on the plea that Bonaparte had been false to the spirit of his engagements, they refused to withdraw their troops from Malta, Egypt, and the Cape of Good Hope, as had been agreed by the Peace of Amiens. An angry correspondence followed, imbittered by the attacks of the English press on the character of the First Consul; and on the 12th of May 1803, Lord Whitworth, ambassador of Great Britain at the French court, was instructed to demand his passports. Six days afterwards, the British government declared war against France, and laid an embargo on the French vessels in British ports—an act for which Bonaparte retaliated by causing all British subjects travelling in France, to the number of about 10,000 persons, to be arrested and kept as prisoners of war.

255. The two greatest nations of Europe being thus again at war, vied with each other in preparations for carrying on the contest. In Britain, 50,000 men were

added to the regular army; volunteer regiments to the number of 300,000 men were formed all over the country; great exertions were made to increase the navy; war-taxes to a large amount were imposed; and a loan was decreed by parliament. Bonaparte, on his side, was still more active. By conscriptions, calling forth the young men of France, the regular army was raised to 420,000 men; Italy and Switzerland were obliged to furnish auxiliary forces; and Spain and Portugal, though anxious to remain neutral, were compelled to enter into a secret agreement to aid France by annual subsidies of money. In order to injure Great Britain, Bonaparte determined to ruin her commerce; and for this purpose, he obliged all the states over which he had influence, including Holland, to close their ports against British vessels. His grand scheme, however, was one for the invasion of Britain. For this purpose, he made immense preparations, selecting Boulogne as the rendezvous for the army of invasion, and establishing there a permanent camp, while all the dockyards of France were engaged in building ships, transports, and flat-bottomed boats, which were to be sent round to the harbour of Boulogne, there to wait till the proper moment arrived for giving the order to embark.

256. During the latter part of the year 1803, and the whole of the year 1804, the two nations remained in this warlike attitude towards each other, the rest of the world eagerly looking on. No action of a decisive nature, however, took place. The French invaded and took possession of Hanover; they increased their army in Holland, and, in prosecution of their scheme against British commerce, seized the free towns of Hamburg and Bremen; and, finally, on the same pretext, they repossessed themselves of all Southern Italy, including the territories of Naples. The British, on their side, contented themselves with a maritime warfare against the French and Dutch colonies in the East and West Indies—one result of which was, as we have seen, to destroy the French power in St Domingo; and with watching the French ports from the Channel, and occasionally making a descent upon one of their harbours. It was not till the year 1805 that

Mr Pitt, then at the head of the government, succeeded in arranging a new coalition of European powers against France, and that the war burst forth in all its fury. Meanwhile, events had occurred in France which facilitated such a coalition, and added spirit to its counsels.

257. Bonaparte had been First Consul of France for nearly five years, and the nation seemed proud of him, and satisfied with his government. Still, the republican and royalist factions were not extinct. Bonaparte had most reason to fear the republicans, who ranked among their number Moreau and other able generals. Moreau, in particular, although he had hitherto taken no steps against Bonaparte, might at some future time be a dangerous rival. It was in these circumstances that Fouché, formerly minister of police, served Bonaparte, by reporting to him a plot which had been entered into between George Cadoudal, Pichegru, and other royalist exiles in Britain, and some of the Parisian republicans, for the overthrow of the existing government. Cadoudal, Pichegru, and other royalists, had actually arrived in Paris to carry out the plot. They and their supposed associates, to the number of forty-five in all, including Moreau, were arrested (February 1804). Pichegru either killed himself, or was strangled in prison; and Cadoudal and eight others were executed (May 1804). Moreau's innocence clearly appeared on the trial; he was condemned, however, to two years' imprisonment—a sentence which Bonaparte remitted, on Moreau's consenting to emigrate to America. The excitement caused by this trial was increased by an event which occurred while it was going on. Bonaparte had entered into secret negotiations with the exiled Bourbon family—more particularly with the eldest surviving brother of Louis XVI., who, as being next heir, was already styled by his adherents Louis XVIII. of France—in order to induce them to resign their claims on the French crown, and accept a compensation instead. The offer having been refused, he thought it expedient to strike terror into the Bourbons by making an example of one of them. Accordingly, hearing that a scion of the House of Bourbon, the Duke d'Enghien, was residing in

the territories of the elector of Baden, near the French frontier, Bonaparte caused him to be seized, and brought as a prisoner to Vincennes, where, on the pretext that he was engaged in plots against France, he was tried by a military commission, and immediately shot (March 21, 1804). This act of violence excited great horror throughout Europe; and the emperors of Russia and Austria, and the king of Sweden, protested against the illegal invasion of the German territory by which it was effected.

258. A new surprise awaited Europe. Within a few days after the death of the Duke d'Enghien, a proposal was set on foot in the French senate and tribunate to change Bonaparte's title from that of First Consul to that of Emperor, and to make the imperial dignity hereditary in his family. It was argued, that only by some such plan as this, excluding the Bourbons for ever from the chance of return, would France be made safe from their plots and machinations. For about a month, the question was discussed—very few members either of the senate or the tribunate expressing their dissent—while addresses in favour of the change poured in from all parts of France. At length these discussions were ended by a decree of the senate (May 18, 1804), declaring Bonaparte to be Emperor of the French, and vesting the succession in his lawful or adopted sons, and, failing such, in his brothers Joseph and Louis, and their male heirs. Bonaparte accepted the offer, and called himself thenceforth Napoleon, Emperor of the French. As a compliment to the French people, however, he insisted that the question of the hereditary succession should be referred to a universal vote; and the result shewed how firmly his power was rooted in the popular affections, for out of 3,574,898 votes registered, only 2569 were in the negative. Although Napoleon styled himself Emperor from the 24th of May, his coronation was deferred till the 2d of December in the same year, when it was celebrated with great pomp in the cathedral of Notre Dame. The pope himself came from Italy to preside at the ceremony; but Napoleon placed the crown on his own head, and it was also from his hand that Josephine received her crown.

259. THE EMPIRE.—Various changes were made, emblematical of this conversion of the French Republic into a French Empire. One of Napoleon's first acts as emperor was to raise eighteen of his generals to the dignity of marshals; namely, Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessières, Kellermann, Lefebvre, Perignon, and Serrurier. The brothers and sisters of Napoleon had the titles of 'imperial highnesses' at the same time conferred upon them; while similar titles of distinction were created or revived for the highest officers of state, and an elaborate system of etiquette was devised for the regulation of the imperial court. Nor was it only within France that the change was felt: the affiliated states and republics of Europe now found themselves virtually but parts of a great French Empire. The Italian Republic—formerly called the Cisalpine Republic, and including Lombardy and most of Northern Italy—followed the example of France, by inviting Napoleon to exchange the title of President for that of King. Accordingly, early in 1805, he made a progress through Northern Italy; and at Milan, on the 26th of May, was crowned with the old iron crown of the Lombard kings—the same which had conferred on the German emperors their title as kings of Italy. From this time, accordingly, Napoleon bore the double title of Emperor of the French and King of Italy. As his viceroy in the Italian kingdom, he appointed his stepson Eugene Beauharnais, the son of Josephine by her first husband. The Ligurian Republic, on the other hand—or that part of Italy which formed the territory of Genoa—was, on its own petition, declared an integral part of the French Empire (June 1805). The states of Parma were also annexed to the empire; while Lucca and Piombino were declared to be feudal principalities of that empire, and as such were conferred on Napoleon's sister Eliza, who had married an Italian named Baciocchi. Such were the beginnings of the Napoleonian Empire in Europe.

260. These bold advances of Napoleon in his career of power disposed the various states of Europe to listen to

the earnest entreaties of the English minister, Pitt, who, since the declaration of war between Great Britain and France in May 1803, had been trying to persuade the great powers to join Britain in a new coalition. Negotiations were going on during the whole of 1804, but it was not till early in 1805 that the arrangements of the coalition were complete. By that time, Austria, Russia, and Sweden had come under distinct engagements, to each other and to Great Britain, to prosecute the war against Napoleon. Prussia kept aloof from this league.

261. Great Britain was by far the most resolute member of the league, and it was against her that for a time Napoleon's efforts continued chiefly to be directed. The project of an invasion of Great Britain was still in his mind. During the whole of 1804, the preparations for this vast expedition had been going on at Boulogne; at which town, by the beginning of 1805, there was assembled an army of 155,000 men, provided with munitions for three months, and ready to embark at a moment's notice on board a fleet of 2293 vessels of all sorts collected in the harbour. Nothing was talked of in Britain but the projected invasion: all round the coast there were signalmen placed to keep a look-out; and many false alarms were given that the French were in sight, or had actually landed. The reliance of the British was in their fleets, and, above all, in that commanded by Nelson. Napoleon knew that the fleets were the defence of England, and he had devised a plan for depriving England of their help. Two of the French squadrons, as well as a Spanish squadron—Spain being then compelled to serve Napoleon—were ordered to sail to the West Indies, so as to draw off the English fleet in pursuit; but on effecting their junction at the West Indies, they were to hasten back to Europe, raise the blockade of the French ports of Brest, Rochefort, &c., and adding to their strength the ships-of-war in these harbours, proceed direct to the Channel, and, by their overwhelming numbers, secure the passage of the invading army from Boulogne. The plan so far succeeded, that the French admiral, Villeneuve, with the united French and Spanish fleets under his command, lured Nelson after him

to the West Indies, and then, leaving Nelson there, set out on his return to Europe. Nelson, divining from this movement what was intended, made all haste after him; in the meantime, sending off some fast-sailing ships to warn the British government. The consequence was, that the British government were able to get together fifteen sail, and send them, under the command of Sir Robert Calder, to await the arrival of Villeneuve, with his fleet of twenty-eight sail, off Cape Finisterre. Sir Robert Calder reached the cruising-ground just in time: Villeneuve came in sight, and an action ensued (July 22, 1805), which, though not decisive, compelled the French and Spanish fleets to take refuge in Ferrol. Here Villeneuve received orders from Napoleon to put to sea again at all risks, and make for Brest, where another squadron of twenty-one sail was waiting. He attempted to obey the order; but being watched by Sir Robert Calder, was obliged to make for Cadiz. Meanwhile, Nelson had returned to England, and had been put in command of the fleet opposed to Villeneuve. With this fleet, amounting to twenty-nine sail, he hovered about Cadiz. Villeneuve, though he had increased his fleet to thirty-three sail-of-the-line and seven frigates, would not risk an action till Nelson, by a stratagem, succeeded in luring him out. The two fleets came up with each other on the 21st of October, off Cape Trafalgar, when a battle was fought, perhaps the most memorable in the naval annals of Britain. Twenty French and Spanish ships struck; Villeneuve himself, two Spanish admirals, and 20,000 men were made prisoners; and the remainder escaped with difficulty. The loss of the British was about 1700 in killed and wounded; but among the killed was the heroic Nelson himself, who was shot on the deck of the *Victory* by a marksman stationed among the yards of the French ship, the *Redoutable*.

262. Even before the battle of Trafalgar, Napoleon had found it necessary to abandon the plan of an invasion of Britain, and to turn his attention to another quarter. In August 1805, it became known in England that the vast camp of Boulogne was broken up, and that the French

army was on its march to the Rhine, to carry on the war in Germany. The elector of Bavaria and the Duke of Würtemberg took part with Napoleon; Prussia remained neutral; and the burden of the war, on the side of the coalition, devolved on Austria and Russia, both of which had splendid armies in the field. After a series of able military movements, Napoleon gained a great success at Ulm, where the Austrian general, Mack, surrendered with his whole army of 20,000 men (October 20, 1805). Nothing then remained to prevent the march of the French upon Vienna; and accordingly, on the 13th of November, they entered and took possession of that capital. Meanwhile, the Russian forces having united themselves with what remained of the Austrians, a huge army was formed to cut off Napoleon's retreat. The Russian emperor, Alexander, himself arrived to superintend the campaign. At a great battle, however, fought at Austerlitz on the 2d of December, Napoleon defeated the combined Austrians and Russians in the most signal manner. Unable to continue the contest, the Austrian emperor, Francis, concluded a peace with the conqueror at Presburg (December 23, 1805), acknowledging his dignities as Emperor of France and King of Italy; recognising all his past conquests; and, moreover, ceding to him, as king of Italy, the Austrian possessions of Venice and Dalmatia. It was also provided that the Russian troops should return home, and that the electors of Bavaria and Würtemberg, who had assisted Napoleon in the campaign, should be allowed to assume the title of kings—Austria ceding the Tyrol to the new kingdom of Bavaria.

263. The splendid victory of Austerlitz, by detaching Austria from the coalition, left Napoleon free to do as he chose. Prussia, which, after much vacillation, had been on the eve of adhering to the coalition, hastened to avert Napoleon's wrath by concluding a convention with him—Prussia agreeing to cede Neuchatel to France, Anspach to Bavaria, and Cleves to Napoleon personally; on condition of being allowed in return to take possession of Hanover, then occupied by the French. While Prussia thus contrived to make a good bargain with the conqueror,

Naples experienced the full measure of his wrath. On the plea that Ferdinand IV., the king of that country, had, while professing to be at peace with him, permitted Russian and British forces to land on his dominions, he issued a decree from Presburg (December 27, 1805) declaring that the Bourbons had ceased to reign in Naples. A French army immediately invaded the Neapolitan territories, and drove Ferdinand into Sicily; whereupon Napoleon conferred the crown of Naples upon his own brother, Joseph Bonaparte (March 30, 1806). Joseph took up his abode in Naples; but Ferdinand remained in his refuge in Sicily.

264. It was at this time that Napoleon first developed what he called the 'Federative System' of the French Empire. The idea of this system was that, as occasion permitted, new parts of Europe should be continually attached to the French Empire, each having its own separate government, but all standing in a certain relation of dependence to the emperor, by whose will their confederate action was to be controlled. Naturally, it was Napoleon's desire that the states associated with his empire should be each under a monarchical government, and also that, in as many of them as possible, the sovereign should be one of his own choosing. Accordingly, it was at this time that he began the practice of conferring sovereignties on members of his own family and on his most distinguished generals. His elder brother, Joseph, as we have seen, had just been made king of Naples; and a month or two before that event (January 12, 1806), he had adopted his stepson, Eugene Beauharnais, as his successor in the kingdom of Italy. Not long after, the whole of the Italian peninsula was formally declared to be a part of the grand empire—those portions of it which were not included in the kingdoms of Naples and Italy, being either directly incorporated with France, or governed, under the empire, by dependent princes. The dominions of Felix Baciocchi and his wife, Eliza Bonaparte, as Duke and Duchess of Lucca and Piombino, were increased by the addition of Massa-Carrara and other territories; and fifteen additional Italian duchies were created out of the states of Parma and the Venetian

provinces ceded by Austria—these duchies being conferred on French generals and ministers, or on relatives of Napoleon. Somewhat later, two similar sovereignties were created out of portions of the Roman States—the duchy of Benevento, conferred on Talleyrand; and the principality of Pontecorvo, conferred on Bernadotte. Nor was it only in Italy that this system was pursued. It was the same in those parts of the German Empire over which Napoleon had acquired influence. The duchies of Cleves and Berg were conferred on Joachim Murat, who had married Napoleon's sister Caroline. Finally, on a petition from the states-general of Holland, the republican form was abolished in that country, and Napoleon's younger brother, Louis, was invested with the royal dignity as king of Holland (March 24, 1806). Two brothers of Napoleon still remained to be provided for—Lucien, who was next to Napoleon in age; and Jerome, the youngest. Differences between Napoleon and Lucien prevented the latter from receiving the honours bestowed on other members of the family; but, as we shall see, a throne was very soon found for Jerome.

265. The establishment, by these arrangements, of the Napoleonian Empire, had one very important result as regarded Germany. To give effect to Napoleon's federative system, it was necessary that he should be secure of the allegiance, not only of the sovereigns whom he had himself set up, but also of as many of the hereditary princes of Europe as possible. His triumphs over Austria enabled him to accomplish this object by forming, under the name of 'the Confederation of the Rhine,' a league of fourteen princes of Western and Southern Germany, all bound to be guided by his policy and to assist him in his future wars (July 12, 1806). This confederation included the kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg, the elector of Baden, the landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, and other minor princes. Sixteen millions of souls, till then attached to the German Empire, were thus severed from it, and annexed to a new empire whose centre was Paris. This was virtually a dissolution of the German Empire altogether; and feeling it to be so, and at the same time obliged to submit,

the Emperor Francis, by a deed dated August 6, 1806, renounced the imperial crown of Germany, and assumed the new title of Francis I., Emperor of Austria. Thus, after an existence of nearly a thousand years, ended the empire of the German Cæsars.

266. In the year 1806, Napoleon, still only thirty-seven years of age, found himself at the head of a European Empire more powerful than any which had existed since the time of Charlemagne. But his own thirst for fresh conquests, and the hatred of the independent European powers, precipitated him into new wars. The death of Pitt, indeed (January 23, 1806), had produced a change in British policy more favourable to peace with France; and, Pitt's great rival, Fox, having succeeded him in the ministry, negotiations for peace were actually entered into. As Napoleon insisted, however, that Great Britain should give her assent to the extrusion of the Bourbons from the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and to his other continental measures, the negotiations were broken off. The death of Fox (September 13) prevented their renewal; and the two countries remained at war. Negotiations which had been begun between France and Russia also failed; and thus, at the close of 1806, though Austria, defeated and crushed as she was, could no longer act as a member of the coalition, Russia and Great Britain were as free as ever to continue the struggle. At this juncture, Prussia —a power whose vacillation and studious neutrality hitherto had exposed her to much obloquy from the coalition—suddenly came to a rupture with Napoleon on account of various insults experienced from him. A new coalition was accordingly formed, including Prussia, Russia, Great Britain, Sweden, and Saxony, and one or two other German states.

267. With his usual rapidity, Napoleon hastened to shatter the forces of Prussia before they could be increased by the promised armies of Russia and the other allies. Two great battles fought on the same day (October 14, 1806)—the one at Jena, where Napoleon in person defeated Prince Hohenlohe; the other at Auerstadt,

where Marshal Davoust defeated the Duke of Brunswick, the Prussian commander-in-chief—decided the fate of the campaign, and placed Prussia at the mercy of the conqueror. The French entered Berlin (October 25). A levy of upwards of six millions sterling was decreed and exacted from the Prussians; all the authorities of the kingdom were obliged to swear allegiance to Napoleon, who appointed one of his generals governor of the Prussian territories in his name; individual Prussians of distinction who had offended Napoleon were punished; and the feelings of the nation were outraged by various acts of insult and contempt—among which was the spoliation of the tomb of Frederick the Great, whose sword was sent to Paris as a trophy of war.

268. There seemed to be no limit to Napoleon's desire for vengeance on Prussia and its king. Other German states shared this vengeance. The elector of Hesse-Cassel, for simply having remained neutral, was deprived of his dominions. On the other hand, the elector of Saxony was not only forgiven for having assisted Prussia, but a separate treaty was made with him, by which, under the new title of King of Saxony, he became an ally of Napoleon, entered the confederacy of the Rhine, and received certain portions of the Prussian territories (December 1806).

269. These favours to Saxony were determined by motives of policy. Negotiations had been going on between Napoleon and the dispossessed Prussian monarch, Frederick-William III.; but the terms proposed by Napoleon were such, that Frederick-William, even in his extremity, could not accept them. He trusted to the assistance of the Russians, who now, after a delay caused by an inopportune war between Russia and Turkey, had entered Prussia, to the number of 90,000, to oppose Napoleon. He himself raised an army of 40,000 Prussians, with whom he took the field. But the genius of Napoleon and his generals soon brought the struggle to a close. After two indecisive battles—at Pultusk on the 26th of December, and at Eylau on the 8th of February—Napoleon gained a great victory over the combined

Russians and Prussians at Friedland, on the 14th of June 1807, and the French army entered Tilsit, on the eastern frontier of Prussia.

270. This victory brought the war to a close. Anxious to come to an understanding with the Russian emperor, and, if possible, to form an alliance with him against all the rest of Europe, Napoleon made proposals to him, the result of which was, that the two emperors met on a raft on the river Niemen, in order personally to make an arrangement that would be agreeable to both (June 25, 1807). The meeting on both sides was most cordial and courteous; and so glowingly did Napoleon describe the power that would accrue to both from their alliance, that Alexander was completely gained over. Accordingly, on the 7th of July, a treaty of peace was signed between France and Russia, to which the poor Prussian monarch, whose advice was hardly asked, gave his unwilling assent on the 9th. By this 'Peace of Tilsit,' as it is called, Prussia was stripped of nearly one-half of her territories. Of her forfeited territories, those on the left bank of the Elbe, together with portions of the territories of Brunswick and Hesse-Cassel, went to form a new kingdom of about 2,000,000 of inhabitants, called 'The Kingdom of Westphalia,' and bestowed on Napoleon's youngest brother, Jerome Bonaparte. The forfeited territories on the south-east, on the other hand, coinciding almost exactly with those portions of ancient Poland which had been appropriated by Prussia in the three partitions of 1772, 1792, and 1795, were erected into a new state called 'The Duchy of Warsaw,' the sovereignty of which was conferred on Napoleon's new ally and favourite, the king of Saxony. This reconstruction of a part of ancient Poland was intended by Napoleon as an act of gratitude to the Poles, for their long and splendid services as soldiers in the French armies, both during the Revolution and after his own accession to power. The reconciliation of Napoleon with the Russian emperor had greatly disappointed the Poles; but they accepted the formation of the duchy of Warsaw out of Prussian Poland as an instalment of their rights, and trusted to future events

for more. One Polish province, indeed—that of Bialystock—was made over to Russia; while Dantzic, once a Polish port, was declared to be a free city. The remainder of Prussia was 'given back' to Frederick-William, with this important reservation, that the French armies still continued to occupy it till the contributions imposed should be paid.

271. Austria, Prussia, Russia, Sweden—all had been vanquished or gained over; but, safe in the midst of her seas, Britain, though left alone, continued the struggle. Napoleon had threatened to invade her, and dictate a peace on the banks of the Thames; but that project had failed. He resolved, therefore, to ruin her by destroying her commerce, thus cutting off those connections with other parts of the earth by means of which she subsisted and flourished. It was while residing at Berlin, in the winter of 1806–7, that he developed his 'continental system' for accomplishing this object. By a decree issued from that capital, and dated November 21, 1806, he declared the whole of Great Britain to be in a state of blockade, prohibited all intercourse with them, ordered the confiscation of all British property, and the arrest of all British subjects within the bounds of the French Empire, and authorised the capture of all vessels that had come from a British port. Most rigorous measures were adopted to give effect to this decree; and as Great Britain issued orders in retaliation, trade was damaged and paralysed, and thousands of merchants were ruined. It was impossible, however, by the most stringent measures, to carry out a system so preposterous; and Napoleon himself soon found it useful to convert the evasion of his own decree into a source of revenue, by granting licences for large sums, under certain restrictions, for the sale of British goods on the continent.

272. On his return to Paris (July 27, 1807), Napoleon was received with boundless pride and enthusiasm. Delirious with joy at the immense accession of power and glory which France had won by the last campaigns, the nation permitted him to take any measures he chose for

perpetuating his own power, and abolishing every relic of political freedom. The tribunate was suppressed (August 15); a rigid censorship of the press was established, which entirely stopped all free discussion of public measures, and which drove Madame de Staël and other eminent writers out of France (September 27); the appointments to all places of trust throughout the empire were vested more absolutely than ever in the emperor; and, finally, by a decree of the senate (March 11, 1808), hereditary aristocracy was restored in France, and the emperor was authorised to create princes, dukes, counts, and barons, at his pleasure. He availed himself of this privilege, and created a host of new nobles, on whom he conferred estates in the countries he had conquered, together with corresponding titles. The splendour and ceremonial of his own court were also increased. As many as seven kings at a time were known to wait in one of the ante-chambers of the Tuileries, for an interview with the man who a few years before had been but a half-pay artillery-officer. There was not a corner of France, or of the countries attached to it, where his secret police was not at work; and whatever could be construed into a state-offence was severely punished. All this was borne without complaint by the people at large, on account of the prosperity which attended Napoleon's rule. With his treasury replenished by foreign tribute, he was able to execute large public works of utility and ornament—roads, bridges, canals, piers, and monuments—without increased taxation. He revised and remodelled the educational system of the empire in a most thorough manner, but with the express view of training all talent to the service of the state, either in the military or in the civil department, and checking all independent exercise of mind. For the same purpose, he encouraged and rewarded all those who devoted themselves to the various branches of practical science and art, while shewing indifference or hostility to speculative or merely literary men. Speculative men he had great contempt for, calling them 'ideologists,' and losing no opportunity of abusing them. Such men, however, being few in any community, his hostility to them did not in the least

interfere with his popularity. The severest feature of his rule for the people at large was the system of military conscription, which every year drew away the flower of the French youth to fill the blanks made in his armies. This, however, was acquiesced in as a necessity; and, moreover, every peasant-youth, in leaving his father's cottage to serve Napoleon, felt that he had the chance of rising to the highest ranks by ability and good conduct, and returning a captain, a colonel, or even a prince and a marshal.

273. During the latter part of 1807, and the whole of 1808, Napoleon was occupied in enforcing his continental system against Great Britain. Russia and Prussia acceded to this system immediately after the Peace of Tilsit; Spain acceded in January, and Austria in February 1808. The refusal of Pope Pius VII. to give his sanction to a system which he declared to be inconsistent with Christian principle, led to the occupation of Rome by French troops (February 2, 1808), and to the transference of valuable portions of the papal states to the kingdom of Italy. Various other changes were at the same time made in the Italian peninsula, assuring Napoleon's absolute supremacy over all parts of it. Portugal, summoned to join the commercial league against Britain, yielded so far as to close her ports against British ships, but refused to confiscate the property of British residents. Denmark was more obedient, and was preparing to put her fleet at the service of Napoleon, when the British government, having been informed of the secret articles of the treaty between Napoleon and the Russian emperor, perceived the danger that might arise from Denmark, and hastened to strike a blow at the power of that country. In July 1807, an expedition was fitted out under the command of Lord Cathcart, and sent to Copenhagen to demand the surrender of the Danish fleet, as a guarantee of neutrality till the conclusion of peace. This having been refused, Copenhagen was bombarded; and the Danish fleet, consisting of eighteen ships-of-the-line and many smaller vessels, was captured and taken to Britain. Denmark,

enraged at this loss, immediately entered into alliance with France (October 16). Sweden, refusing to follow her example, was invaded by the Russians; and Finland was detached from the Swedish crown.

274. Such was the situation of affairs, when a series of acts on the part of Napoleon turned the almost undivided interest of Europe to the Spanish peninsula. This peninsula was then, as now, divided into the two states of Spain and Portugal. The throne of Spain was occupied by Charles IV., an indolent and feeble old monarch, who was completely under the control of his wife and her favourite, Don Emanuel Godoy. The heir-apparent, Ferdinand, then about twenty-four years of age, disgusted with the influence of Godoy, was perpetually scheming against him, and had thus become involved in quarrels with his father. The Spaniards were thus divided into two parties—one attached to Godoy, the king, and the queen; the other favouring the views of the prince. Portugal was free from any such political distractions; but, being a small nation, it had been obliged, ever since 1802, to obey the dictation of France. The Portuguese queen, Maria Francesca, being then insane, the government was conducted by her son, Prince John, as regent.

275. Napoleon, whose ambition had long marked out the Spanish peninsula for his prey, availed himself of the opportunities which his position now afforded for the enterprise. He began with Portugal. The prince-regent, as we have seen, while closing the ports of Portugal against British ships, had refused to seize the property of British merchants. To punish him for this, Marshal Junot, with a French army, invaded Portugal (October 19, 1807), and a decree was published in Napoleon's official journal, the *Moniteur*, declaring that 'the House of Braganza had ceased to reign.' Unable to offer any resistance, the prince-regent, the queen, and the rest of the royal family, embarked in a British fleet in the Tagus, and were conveyed to Brazil, there to await the return of better days. Lisbon was then occupied by the French; and the whole country was treated as a conquered province, and a levy of four millions sterling exacted from it.

276. By a secret treaty, Napoleon had promised to divide Portugal between himself and Spain; but he now threw off his disguise, and shewed that his designs extended to Spain also. A large army, which had been assembled on the Pyrenean frontier, ostensibly as a reserve to that invading Portugal, marched into Spain, whither Murat proceeded to take the command, as lieutenant of Napoleon. Then began a series of intrigues, in which Godoy, the king, the queen, and the prince were all engaged—both Godoy's party and the prince's party trying to secure Napoleon's favour through Murat. It was Napoleon's policy, however, to side with neither party, and to let the family feud work for his own advantage. At length, a popular tumult having occurred, the king abdicated, and the prince ascended the throne as Ferdinand VII. (March 19, 1808). The Spaniards trusted to retain their independence under this new reign; but they were soon undeceived. Murat and the French took possession of Madrid; and, by various arguments, both the old king, Charles IV., and the new sovereign, Ferdinand VII., were persuaded to visit Napoleon at Bayonne, there to arrange with him the affairs of Spain. Here the old king easily consented to a treaty ceding his rights in Spain to Napoleon (May 5). He, his wife, and Godoy were then sent to Compiegne, in France. Ferdinand was more obstinate; but at length, having the alternative of death or abdication put before him, he chose the latter (May 10), and, ceasing to be king of Spain, was sent as a prisoner to Valençay. The crown of Spain, under a fixed constitutional charter, was then conferred on Joseph Bonaparte, who reluctantly vacated his Neapolitan throne, by his brother's command, in order to take possession of it (June 6, 1808). Murat was appointed his successor in the kingdom of Naples.

277. To all appearance, both Spain and Portugal were now included in the Napoleonian Empire. But in both parts of the Peninsula the invaders met a resistance on which they had not calculated. The natural pride of the Spaniards revolted from the idea of being governed by foreigners, and especially by Frenchmen; and their

patriotism was roused to a pitch of absolute frenzy. It was the same in Portugal. Moreover, the nature of the country, divided into mountain-ranges, and otherwise diversified, was such as to favour a desultory patriotic warfare; while the strong feelings of mutual independence which existed in the various provinces, prevented one part of the Peninsula from yielding because another had yielded. Everywhere the Spaniards, excited by their priests, rose in insurrection—the war being directed in each province or locality by a committee or junta of the most influential and energetic citizens. These local and provincial juntas acted independently of each other, and raised troops as they best could, to fight with such bodies of the French as were quartered in their neighbourhood. Thus disunited and ungeneraled, the Spaniards were very often defeated; but they shewed an indomitable spirit, which proved to Napoleon that their subjugation would be no easy task. The defence of the city of Saragossa is still remembered as one of the most obstinate defences ever offered by a city to a besieging army. Commanded by the brave Palafox, the Saragossans for two months kept out a French army under General Lefebvre (June—August 1808). At the same time, Castanos, another provincial general, gained a signal victory at Baylen over 14,000 French troops under Generals Dupont and Vidal —compelling the entire army to surrender, on promise of being sent back to France (July 20). Terrified by this disaster, King Joseph quitted Madrid for Burgos; and the Spaniards, regaining their capital, established a central junta there for the general administration of the kingdom in the name of their captive king, Ferdinand VII. In this junta, which consisted of thirty-five members, selected by the different provinces, there were some able and energetic men; but not a few of the members were selfish and intriguing adventurers, raised to power by the circumstances of the moment and their own cunning, and using their power for the satisfaction of their vanity or their avarice. Very similar was the state of affairs in Portugal. There also the inhabitants — the city of Oporto conspicuous among them—had risen against the French; and there

also, after desultory fighting, the conduct of the war had fallen into the hands of a junta called into being by the emergency.

278. The brave resistance of the Spaniards and Portuguese to the forces of the universal conqueror, produced a powerful sensation throughout Europe, and especially in Great Britain. The British government resolved to make the Spanish peninsula the scene of further military operations against their persevering enemy. Accordingly, an army of 13,000 men was despatched from Cork for the Peninsula, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley—already distinguished by his services in India, and also in the Copenhagen expedition of the previous year (July 12). This was but a beginning; and within four months, additional detachments, to the number of 30,000 men, were despatched under the command of Sir Harry Burrard, Sir Hew Dalrymple, Sir John Moore, Sir David Baird, and other generals. Napoleon, on his side, was equally active in his preparations. Reinforcements were sent as fast as possible into the Peninsula, till the number of French troops there exceeded 130,000 men. These were divided into separate armies, distributed over the country, and commanded by Junot, Kellermann, Lefebvre, Soult, and other able generals and marshals of the empire.

279. Portugal was the first scene of conflict—Sir Arthur Wellesley, after consulting with the Spanish junta of Galicia, having deemed it best to land his army at the Bay of Montego, on the Portuguese coast (July 31). Here he was joined by a small body of Portuguese troops, and after various engagements, gave battle to the French under Junot at Vimiera (August 21). The result was a victory so complete, that Sir Arthur proposed to press on to Lisbon, and was only prevented from doing so by the orders of Sir Harry Burrard, his superior in command. Sir Hew Dalrymple, however, having arrived to supersede Sir Harry Burrard, the arrangements consequent on the victory devolved on him. A convention was agreed to at Cintra, by which Junot's whole army of 20,000 men was to evacuate Portugal and be conveyed in British vessels to France (August 30). Some difficulties ensued, in

consequence of the determination of Junot's troops to carry away with them the plunder they had accumulated while masters of Portugal; but at length they were embarked, and Portugal remained in possession of the British. Notwithstanding this important result, the convention of Cintra caused great dissatisfaction both in Portugal and Great Britain; and Sir Hew Dalrymple and Sir Arthur Wellesley were recalled, that an investigation might be made into their conduct. During their absence, the command in Portugal was assumed by Sir John Moore; while in Spain, Palafox, Castanos, and other generals, acting under the central junta, carried on the war against King Joseph and the French generals.

280. The events in Spain had roused a spirit of resistance both in Austria and Prussia; and the governments of these countries were quietly making preparations for throwing off the yoke, by organising their resources, and reforming the system of their *landwehr*, or militia. Napoleon, foreseeing a derangement of these Germanic parts of his empire, and knowing that his best defence against such a contingency lay in his alliance with Russia, arranged a new interview between himself and the Emperor Alexander. The two monarchs met at Erfurt, on the 27th of September 1808; and, during a conference of seventeen days, distinguished by a succession of festivities, they discussed the affairs of Europe together, and arranged their mutual plans. Alexander agreed to Napoleon's views in regard to Spain and the rest of Western Europe; while Napoleon gave his assent to the designs of Russia against Sweden and Turkey. After this interview, Napoleon, secure in his alliance with Alexander, hastened to the Peninsula, and assumed the direction of the war there (October 1808). The Spaniards, under Castanos and Palafox, were unable to cope with a genius such as his; and after various battles, the French re-entered Madrid, where Joseph once more established himself (December 4), and received the submission of the authorities. Napoleon took up his quarters near the city, and issued orders for the future administration of Spain, and for the conduct of the war against the bands of patriots still remaining in arms throughout the country.

281. Sir John Moore had, in the meantime, advanced from Portugal into Spain, and having effected a junction with the forces of Sir David Baird in the province of Leon, was pushing on, with an army of 20,000 men, in the direction of the Spanish capital. He gained some successes over Soult's troops, and had come as far as Salamanca, when, hearing of the state of things at Madrid, and of the immense strength before him, he found it necessary to retreat. Napoleon himself marched from Madrid, with a view to intercept this retreat; but, receiving important intelligence from Austria, he set out for Paris, and left the pursuit to Soult. After a masterly retreat, before overwhelming forces, Moore, with his army reduced to 14,000 men, reached the sea-coast at Corunna, where he began to embark his forces. Here the French attacked him, on the 16th of January 1809, and a battle was fought, in which the French were repulsed, but Sir John Moore was killed. His body was hastily buried on the ramparts of Corunna; and his sorrowing army embarked safely.

282. The intelligence which had so suddenly taken Napoleon back to Paris was of no ordinary importance. Austria had completed her preparations, and was once more at war with him. An army of upwards of 200,000 men was to act in Germany, under the command of the Archduke Charles; the Archduke John, with 80,000 men, was to enter Italy; and the Archduke Ferdinand, with 30,000 men, was to invade the duchy of Warsaw, and, if possible, rouse the Prussian government to action.

283. Napoleon lost no time in meeting the danger. Sending fresh forces under Berthier, Davoust, Massena, and other generals, into Bavaria, he assumed the command of the German war in person in April 1809. A succession of movements, including the great battle of Eckmuhl and Ratisbon (April 22 and 23), shattered the Austrian forces that lay between him and Vienna; which city, accordingly, the French entered (May 13). A terrible battle, however, fought (May 22) at Aspern, on the right bank of the Danube, in which the French lost 30,000 men, including Marshal Lannes, brought Napoleon into great difficulties;

and for more than a month he remained in the island of Lobau, waiting for reinforcements. Meanwhile, the Austrians had been in some degree successful, both in Italy, where Beauharnais was defeated by the Archduke John, and in the duchy of Warsaw, where the Archduke Ferdinand had advanced as far as Thorn. Beauharnais, however, succeeded, after a long march, in reaching Napoleon at Lobau; where, by means of this and other additions, an army of 180,000 was at last assembled. With this army, Napoleon gave battle to the Austrians at Wagram (July 6). The battle was one of tremendous carnage on both sides; but Napoleon remained master of the field. Negotiations were then begun between him and the Austrian government. They were not brought to a close till the 14th of October, when a treaty was concluded at Schönbrunn. The terms of this treaty were very severe for Austria. In addition to a large levy of money, she parted with a portion of her territories, containing 3,500,000 souls. Galicia was divided between the duchy of Warsaw and Russia; some districts were given to Bavaria; and Carniola, part of Croatia and Carinthia, with Trieste for a capital, were ceded to Napoleon himself, under the name of Illyrian Provinces.

284. An interesting episode in this war with Austria, during the year 1809, was the war in the Tyrol. This district of rugged Alpine country, lying between Bavaria and Switzerland, had been a part of the hereditary Austrian possessions since the fourteenth century; and the Tyrolese —a hardy race of peasants, tilling their own lands—had always been strongly attached to the House of Austria. The separation of the Tyrol from Austria, and its annexation to the kingdom of Bavaria by the Peace of Presburg, in 1805 (§ 262), had roused an intense spirit of patriotism among the hardy mountaineers, and it was with difficulty that they were prevented from rising immediately against their new masters, the Bavarians and the French. Accordingly, in 1809, when the Austrians once more ventured to break with Napoleon, the Tyrolese played an important part in the struggle. Revolting (April 1809) from Bavaria, and demanding to be reunited to Austria, the peasants,

under various popular leaders—the chief of whom was Andrew Hofer, an innkeeper in one of the Tyrolese valleys —drove the French and Bavarian garrisons out of their country. They acted under instructions from the Austrian government; and a regular Austrian army entered the Tyrol, to turn the valour of the peasants to account. The movement extended itself, and the war in the Tyrol became formidable. Even after the battle of Wagram had ended the campaign against Austria, Hofer and his Tyrolese continued their patriotic struggle in the fastnesses of their native mountains—defeating Lefebvre and other French generals. After the Peace of Schönbrunn (October), the Austrian government could no longer sanction these brave efforts of the Tyrolese, who were accordingly advised to accept an amnesty offered them by Napoleon. The peasants, scorning the advice, continued the war on their own account; but French armies were poured into the country, and the patriotic bands were dispersed. Some of the chiefs escaped to Vienna; but Hofer was seized, carried to Mantua, and there shot (January 5, 1810).

285. It was not only in the Tyrol that the sentiment of German patriotism burst forth in aid of the Austrians during their war with Napoleon; in Northern Germany there were similar, though less important movements. Prussia did not stir; but there were risings under patriotic leaders in Saxony and Westphalia; and one of these risings, under the Duke of Brunswick, was so effective, that the king of Westphalia was driven into France. On the whole, however, these outbursts of German patriotism led to nothing; and after the Peace of Schönbrunn, the French supremacy was restored in Germany.

286. Even less important in its results, though great hopes had been formed of it, was a British expedition sent at this time to Holland, as a diversion in favour of Austria. The expedition itself was perhaps the largest that Britain ever sent forth. It consisted of 37 ships-of-the-line, and 23 frigates, besides sloops, transports, and gun-boats; and it carried a land-army of 40,000 men. The intention was to destroy the shipping, dockyards, and arsenals of Antwerp and Flushing, and to recover Holland from the French.

The expedition set out, under the command of Lord Chatham, on the 28th of July. Its first operations were successful; Flushing was besieged and taken; but, partly on account of mismanagement, partly on account of the activity of Bernadotte, who commanded the troops of the king of Holland, nothing adequate was accomplished. Shut up in the island of Walcheren, thousands of the British soldiers perished of fever and ague; and the wreck of the army was recalled to Britain before the end of the year. As a set-off to this disaster, the British could count some important naval successes against the French in the year 1809—such as the seizure of the island of Cayenne and French Guiana (January 12); the capture of Martinico by Admiral Cochrane (February 12); the destruction of a French fleet in the Basque Roads by the same admiral, in conjunction with Admiral Gambier (April 11); the capture of Senegal (June); and the seizure and occupation of the Ionian Islands (October 8).

287. The year 1809 also witnessed some changes in Italy. Tuscany was created a grand-duchy of the French Empire, and was conferred on Eliza Baciocchi, as an addition to her former Italian possessions (March 2). Not long afterwards (May 7), the Roman States, already shorn of some of their provinces, and also occupied by French troops, were declared by a decree to be incorporated with the French Empire—Rome to be a free city, and to rank as second of the empire. Pope Pius was so provoked by this decree, that he dared to issue a bull of excommunication against Napoleon and his abettors (June 11). Napoleon's agents in Italy instantly resolved on the arrest of the pope—a plan which they carried out on the 5th of July. Napoleon, then in Austria, had not authorised this act, but, as it had taken place, he willingly availed himself of it; and the pope, after being carried about from place to place, was detained as a prisoner of state at Savona till the year 1812, when he was removed to Fontainebleau, in France. Lucien Bonaparte, whose refusal to part from his wife and marry another had caused a coolness between him and his imperious brother, was residing at Rome when that city was annexed to the

French Empire. He then emigrated to America, but having been captured on his way by a British vessel, was taken to Britain, where he lived as a prisoner at large, near Worcester, till the year 1814.

288. The events of the years 1810 and 1811 hardly admit of being told in regular connection. Most important among them was Napoleon's divorce of Josephine and marriage with Maria-Louisa, daughter of the Austrian emperor. His anxiety to have a son to whom to bequeath his empire was the cause of this step, which, after having long meditated it, he seems to have finally decided on about the time of his return from Vienna to Paris (November 1809). With tears and anguish of heart, Josephine—then forty-eight years of age, during fifteen of which she had been Napoleon's wife—was obliged to acquiesce; and, with the consent of both, a divorce was pronounced by the senate on the 16th of December. Ample provision was made for Josephine, who still retained her title of empress, and for whom Napoleon continued, as far as possible, to testify unabated affection. His choice of his new wife was determined by reasons of policy. Proposals were made to the emperor of Russia for a marriage with his sister; but, as there was some hesitation on the part of the Russian court, an arrangement was made with the emperor of Austria, who consented to give his daughter, Maria-Louisa, to his conqueror and enemy. The marriage took place without delay. The contract was signed on the 15th of February 1810; the ceremony of marriage by proxy was performed at Vienna on the 11th of March; on the following day the young empress set out for Paris; she was met by Napoleon at Compiegne; and on the 1st of April the marriage was gorgeously celebrated at Paris. Maria-Louisa was then extremely young, very pretty, and of a soft and indolent disposition, with many pleasing qualities, but by no means equal to Josephine in talent, grace, or power of character. It used to be remarked afterwards, by those who regarded Napoleon's divorce of Josephine as a heartless and cruel act, that the time

of his second marriage was the turning-point of his fortunes. For a time, however, all seemed promising; and when, on the 20th of March 1811, the young empress gave birth to a son, who was called the King of Rome, it seemed as if all Napoleon's hopes had been fulfilled.

289. Napoleon's marriage, with the hopes which it occasioned of direct heirs, rendered him less studious than he had till then been of the interests of his brothers and other relatives. Louis, king of Holland, had always been his favourite brother; and he had a double affection for him from the fact, that he had married Hortense Beauharnais, Josephine's daughter. Two sons had resulted from this marriage—the younger of whom has since become celebrated as Louis Napoleon (born 1808); and it was not supposed unlikely that one of these sons might be adopted by Napoleon as his heir in the empire. The king of Holland, however, being of a mild and conscientious disposition, found it very difficult to reconcile his notions of his duty to his Dutch subjects with the requirements of his imperious brother. In particular, the reluctance of Louis to carry out the principles of the continental system against England—which could only be done at the expense of that commerce on which the Dutch depended for their prosperity—gave rise to frequent recriminations between them. In March 1810, Louis was compelled to cede to France all that portion of his kingdom which lay on the left bank of the Rhine—the districts so ceded being declared an integral part of the French territory. Still, Napoleon complained of the conduct of Louis; and threatened to invade Holland, and assume the government of it himself. He was preparing to carry the threat into effect, when Louis fled to Bohemia, and abdicated the Dutch crown in favour of his eldest son (July 3). Napoleon declared this act void; and by a decree, dated July 9, formally annexed Holland to the territories of France. A few months later (December 1810), under the same pretext of the laxity with which the continental system was being carried out, he incorporated with France the so-called Hanseatic countries—namely, portions of the kingdom of Westphalia;

the duchy of Berg; parts of Salm-Salm, Salm-Kyrburg, and the duchy of Oldenburg; the whole of the duchy of Lauenburg; and the cities of Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck. This act roused a strong feeling of hostility in Northern Germany, and also gave offence to the Russian emperor.

290. While one of Napoleon's relatives was thus losing a crown, another was gaining the reversion to one. This was Marshal Bernadotte, Prince of Pontecorvo, whose relationship to Napoleon consisted in his having married a sister of the wife of Joseph Bonaparte. The crown to which he obtained the reversion was that of Sweden. It will be remembered (§ 273) that, after the Peace of Tilsit in 1807, Sweden was almost the only country that refused to enter into the continental alliance then arranged between Napoleon and the Russian emperor. The consequence was, that Napoleon had made over Sweden to the mercy of the Russian emperor, who, ever since that time, had been carrying on war with the Swedes. The Swedes, with some assistance from the British, fought bravely, but were unable to cope with Russia. Finland, East Bothnia, and the Aland Isles were taken from Sweden by the Russians. The reigning king of Sweden, however, Gustavus IV., having shewn symptoms of insanity, was dethroned by his subjects, who chose as his successor his uncle, the Duke of Sudermania, with the title of Charles XIII. (June 5, 1809). The new king, in order to save Sweden from destruction, hastened to conclude a peace with Russia, and to obtain Napoleon's friendship. Accordingly, in September 1809, a treaty was arranged at Fredericksham, by which Sweden resigned to Russia the territories she had conquered—amounting to about one-fourth part of the Swedish dominions. By way of recompense, Napoleon restored Pomerania to Sweden, which then acceded to the continental system, and declared war against Great Britain. Charles XIII. having no child, the succession was vested by the Swedes in the Prince of Holstein Augustenburg; but, this prince dying suddenly, they looked about for a successor. After some consultation, they fixed on Marshal Bernadotte—partly out of gratitude for certain kindnesses

he had shewn to the Swedes while serving in Northern Europe, partly because they thought the choice would be pleasing to Napoleon. Napoleon offered no objection to the appointment; and Bernadotte was formally elected crown-prince of Sweden, under the name of Charles-John (September 17, 1810).

291. Thus, at the commencement of the year 1811, the power of Napoleon seemed as firmly established as ever—the Spanish peninsula being the only part of the continent where a determined struggle was still maintained against him. Under this apparent quiet, however, the elements of a tremendous strife were slumbering and gathering themselves. Notwithstanding the ostensible friendship between Napoleon and the Russian emperor, the relations between these two great potentates were fast changing their character. Napoleon's insatiable spirit of conquest had begun to excite the jealousy, and even the alarm of Alexander, who saw his power in the East threatened by the increase of that of his brother-autocrat in the West; and Napoleon's marriage with an Austrian princess added a special cause of difference. But, perhaps, what most provoked Alexander to a rupture with Napoleon was the incorporation of the Hanseatic provinces of Northern Germany with France—an act prejudicial to the power of Russia in the Baltic. Hardly had this event become known, when Alexander shewed his anger by making some relaxations in favour of British commerce, contrary to the stipulations of the continental system (January 1811). Perceiving whither the policy of Russia tended, Napoleon began to say among his counsellors that he and his 'brother Alexander' would soon be at war. In anticipation of this war, he used all means to strengthen his hold upon Denmark and Sweden. Denmark, still enraged with Britain on account of the Copenhagen expedition, was sufficiently compliant; but Sweden, though in form she had declared war against Britain, made the war as unreal as possible. In this the Swedish government followed the advice of Bernadotte, who, now that circumstances had placed him in an independent position, was anxious to play an independent part, and

assist in undermining a master he had never very cordially served. To punish this conduct on the part of Sweden, Napoleon, in January 1812, ordered Davoust to invade Pomerania, so as again to dissever that continental territory from the Swedish crown. This having been done, the Swedes, acting under the counsels of Bernadotte, concluded an alliance with the Russian emperor, whose differences with Napoleon had by this time become ripe for war (April 5, 1812). Before relating the events of this war, let us see what had been the progress of affairs in the Spanish peninsula.

292. In Spain, the war had been carried on by the Spanish patriots in the different provinces with various success. In the province of Aragon, where the French were commanded by Moncey, Mortier, Lannes, and Junot, and the Spaniards by Palafox, the interest of the struggle was concentrated on the siege, for the second time, of the heroic town of Saragossa. After a terrible resistance of two months, during which disease assisted the besiegers, and hundreds of corpses lay unburied in the streets, the town surrendered on the 20th of February 1809. This siege cost the French 3000 killed and 12,000 wounded; but it obtained for them the complete possession of Aragon. Catalonia was subdued by the French general, St Cyr, in the same month. In Castile, or Central Spain, the patriots were defeated with great slaughter in several battles with the French under Victor and Sebastiani (January—March). In Asturias and Galicia—those parts of Spain which bound the north of Portugal—Soult and Ney were harassed, but with little effect, by bands of patriots under the Spanish chief, Romana. Thus, in the spring of 1809, only the southern provinces of Spain remained unsubdued by the French; and Soult, as French commander-in-chief in the Peninsula, was able to obey Napoleon's orders, and invade Portugal (March 1809). It was thought that there would be an easy victory there over the Portuguese, and the small British force that remained in the country after Sir John Moore's retreat and death; and that thus, in the course of the year, the

whole Peninsula would be thoroughly conquered. Soult also flattered himself that, if he conquered Portugal, the crown of that kingdom might be his own. At this moment, however, the weight of Great Britain was again thrown into the war with such force as to baffle Soult's designs, and ultimately those of Napoleon himself.

293. After the retreat of Sir John Moore, not more than 8000 British soldiers had remained there to assist the Spaniards and the Portuguese in their desultory but brave struggle against upwards of 250,000 French troops distributed through different parts of the country. Considerable reinforcements, however, were immediately sent out to Lisbon, and, what was more important, Sir Arthur Wellesley arrived there as commander-in-chief (April 22, 1809). From that moment the war assumed a more regular and orderly character. The entire British force under Wellesley's command could but form the nucleus of the army necessary to carry on the struggle against so vast an aggregate of French forces; but the extraordinary ability and energy of the British general found scope in organising the native materials of resistance supplied by the Peninsula. Portuguese levies to the number of 20,000 were raised and paid by Britain, and placed under the command of General Beresford, who received the title of marshal in the Portuguese service. Communications were also entered into with the Spanish central junta, which, since the occupation of Madrid, had transferred its seat to Seville. That body issued proclamations to the Spanish people, calling upon them again to rise.

294. Soult, after fighting two battles with armies of Portuguese volunteers, had made himself master of Oporto before Wellesley's arrival in Portugal (March 29), and the French were stationed in that city, perpetrating dreadful cruelties and excesses. Wellesley's first act, on his arrival, was to set the British and Portuguese troops in motion towards Oporto. He himself, at the head of 17,000 men, took the direct route towards that town; Beresford, with 7000 men, marching more inland towards the Douro. On the 11th of May, Wellesley came up with the French, who retreated across the Douro, burning the bridge to prevent

the British from following. Under great difficulties, however, the British army effected the passage of the river on the 12th, and the French hurriedly retreated towards the Spanish frontier, leaving a large quantity of their stores. Beresford's force, intercepting their retreat, threw them into such difficulties, that it was only by taking an unusual route, and abandoning his artillery and almost all his baggage, that Soult escaped. He joined Ney at Lugo, in Galicia, in a woful condition.

295. Thus, a second time, was Portugal delivered from the French by the ability of Sir Arthur Wellesley. In his turn, he resolved to carry the war into Spain. After a month spent in necessary preparations at Oporto, he marched towards the frontier, which he crossed on the 29th of June, with an army of 25,000 British and Portuguese. Pushing on in the direction of Madrid, he was joined on the 20th of July by a Spanish army of 38,000 men, under General Cuesta. With these forces he gave battle, on the 27th of July, to the French under Marshal Victor at Talavera. King Joseph himself had come from Madrid to be present with the army. The battle was severely contested—the British bearing the brunt of the attack, while the Spanish troops took little or no part. The French were finally defeated, with a loss of seventeen guns, and 9000 killed and wounded. They retreated towards Madrid, whither Wellesley would have pursued them, but for the intelligence that Soult, Ney, and Mortier were on their march southwards from Galicia to attack him in the rear. On receipt of this intelligence, he crossed the Tagus, and took up his quarters to the south of that river on the Portuguese frontier. The conduct of the Spanish commander Cuesta, at the battle of Talavera, and the neglect of the Spanish authorities to supply the British troops with provisions, had so disgusted him, that he had resolved for the future to carry on the war solely with British and Portuguese forces, leaving to the Spaniards the task of harassing the French by keeping up that kind of desultory guerilla warfare for which their habits and the nature of the country best fitted them.

296. The Spaniards, acting for themselves, ventured on

a pitched battle with General Mortier at Ocana (November 19), in which, owing to the incompetency of their commander, they suffered an overwhelming defeat. This was the last pitched battle they fought. Dispirited by their defeat, they fell back southwards before the French armies, who had by this time been increased to upwards of 350,000 men in all, by reinforcements sent from Germany by Napoleon after the close of the German war. These vast forces carried all before them; Gerona, in Catalonia, which had resisted a long siege with amazing courage, surrendered to Augereau, after it had been reduced to the last extremity of famine (December 12); Granada and Cordova yielded about the same time; Seville itself was entered by the French on the 1st of February 1810; and at last Cadiz was the only important town in Southern Spain where the French were not masters. They approached this town to attack it, but the bravery of the Spaniards and the presence of a British fleet in the bay obliged them to withdraw; and Cadiz remained independent. The central junta, which had transferred itself from Seville to Cadiz, resigned the government into the hands of a provisional regency of six persons (January 1810).

297. The first successes of Sir Arthur Wellesley in Portugal and Spain had raised high hopes in Britain, and had procured for him the honour of a peerage, with the titles of Baron Douro and Viscount Wellington. When it was known, however, that these successes had led to no decisive results, that the conquest of Spain by the French was all but complete, and that Wellington had taken up a defensive position in Portugal, where he was constructing fortifications on a great scale behind which to shelter his army, the tide of opinion turned, and the policy of continuing so desperate a war at such a distance, as well as Wellington's mode of conducting it, began to be vehemently discussed in parliament. Meanwhile, Wellington, in spite of the urgent entreaties of the government at home that he would adopt a more brilliant course of strategy, was resolutely pursuing a plan which he had conceived for the further conduct of the war. The fortifications on

which he was engaged were the lines of Torres Vedras, since so famous—a triple line of fortifications stretching from the Tagus to the sea, behind which the British could find safety against the advance of the French, and from which, as occasion offered, they could issue forth into all the neighbouring parts of the Peninsula on more active service. The fortifications, which extended over a space of twenty-nine miles, were completed in the winter of 1809–10; and from that time, for many months, the exploits of the British in the Peninsula had the character of excursions from, and retreats back upon, the lines of Torres Vedras.

298. In June 1810, Massena, with an army of 80,000 men, commanded, under him, by Ney, Junot, and Reynier, moved towards Portugal. The town of Ciudad Rodrigo, a place of great importance, on account of its closeness to the frontier, was taken; and the French, invading Portugal, obtained possession of Almeida. As Wellington made no effort to oppose these first operations of the invaders, and retreated before them towards Torres Vedras, the greatest alarm prevailed among the Portuguese, and crowds of fugitives flocked to Lisbon. To revive confidence in the British, Wellington halted in his retreat at Busaco, where he gave battle to the invaders on the 21st of September, and defeated them with great loss. Massena, however, still advanced southwards towards Lisbon; and Wellington, laying the country waste behind him, withdrew within his line of fortifications. For more than a month, Massena remained before this formidable barrier, in vain hoping to penetrate it or to starve out the allies behind it; till at last, provisions failing him, and the Portuguese harassing him by skirmishes on his rear, he was obliged to retreat (November 14). He retreated slowly, pursued by Wellington, his troops committing terrible cruelties in the country through which they passed; and it was not till April 1811 that he fell back into Spain near Salamanca. Wellington then laid siege to Almeida, in order to recover that town. Massena again advanced to relieve the town, and was met at Fuentes d'Onore by the British army. The action which followed (May 4) was not very

decisive, but, on the whole, the British had the advantage, and Massena again retreated, sending orders to the garrison of Almeida to evacuate the town. This was accordingly done (May 10); and thus, a third time, the French were driven out of Portugal. The British were foiled, it is true, in an attempt they made to recover Badajoz; but the great battle of Albuera, which was gained over Soult by General Beresford (May 16, 1811), with a loss of 8000 French and 7000 British and Portuguese, had such a moral effect throughout the Peninsula, that during the rest of the year 1811 neither Soult, Marmont, nor any other of the French generals, attempted any action of consequence.

299. Having repelled the invaders from Portugal, Wellington resolved to do something towards weakening the French power in Spain. The condition of this country was daily becoming more confused and hopeless. A national cortes, consisting of representatives of the various provinces elected by universal suffrage, so far as such an arrangement was possible in the convulsed state of the country, had been convened at Cadiz, and met there in September 1810. Instead of occupying themselves, however, with the defence of the kingdom, the cortes passed a series of measures intended to effect an entire revolution in the political institutions of Spain, reducing the power of the crown to a mere fiction, and vesting the whole legislative authority in a single chamber, to be elected by the entire Spanish people. Meanwhile, in various parts of Spain, the partisan leaders, such as Blake and O'Donnel, were maintaining the struggle as they best could by their own exertions. The guerilla-bands performed exploits of great valour on a small scale; but in great operations the French generals were almost uniformly successful. General Suchet, in particular, shewed such abilities in the north-east, where he besieged and took Tarragona and Valencia, that Napoleon created him a marshal. Macdonald, Victor, and Mortier maintained the prowess of the French in other parts. Still, with all these successes, the situation of the French in Spain was precarious. The generals acted almost independently of each other, and paid no

regard to their nominal head, King Joseph, who kept up a mock-court at Madrid, but was without influence and without a revenue. The country was exhausted, and at the same time hostile; and the supplies for the armies had to be drawn from France.

300. Such was the chaos on which Wellington proposed to act from his position in Portugal. A less firm and powerful mind than his would have been unequal to the task. The Portuguese authorities, upon whom his army depended for most of its necessaries, were so timid and inefficient, that it was only by virtually taking the government of Portugal, as well as the command of the British forces, into his own hands, that he could maintain his army in an organised state. Nevertheless, in January 1812, he advanced into Spain, and directed his march against Ciudad Rodrigo. On the 19th of the month, that important town was taken by storm by the British army, with tremendous carnage. Hardly had the excitement caused by the news of this great action died away in Britain, when the still more extraordinary exploit of the capture of Badajoz by storm (April 6)—an exploit which cost the besiegers 5000 in killed and wounded—called forth fresh rejoicings. Those who had hitherto disapproved of the Peninsular War, and blamed Wellington for his Fabian strategy, now caught the general enthusiasm, and applauded the general and his valiant troops. Wellington was raised to the dignity of an English earl; to which dignity were added those of Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo in Spain, and Marquis of Torres Vedras in Portugal. Nor were the hopes excited by his success in the two great sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz disappointed. Marching to Salamanca, Wellington prepared to attack that town, when the French, to the number of 45,000 men, under Marshal Marmont, gave him battle (July 22, 1812). The victory gained by the British and their allies, the Portuguese, on this occasion was one of the most decisive that had happened during the war; the loss of the French being not less than 14,000 men, besides subsequent losses by the breaking up of the army during its retreat. The victory, however, cost the

British upwards of 3000, and the Portuguese upwards of 2000, in killed and wounded.

301. Wellington lost no time in turning the victory to account, by pressing on to Madrid. Unable to resist him, King Joseph, with the forces under his immediate command, to the number of 20,000, evacuated that capital, which was entered in triumph by the British, the Portuguese, and their Spanish auxiliaries, on the 12th of August. The consequences were soon apparent over the whole of Spain. The French, finding themselves deprived of their hold of Southern and Central Spain, concentrated their forces in the north, abandoning places of strength which they had till then occupied, and even raising the siege of Cadiz, which they had been prosecuting with immense labour for many months. In the north of Spain, however, they were still strong; and Wellington, who had advanced northward from Madrid, found himself foiled in an attack upon the citadel of Burgos. For some weeks he used his utmost exertions to take this place, which was important as containing a large quantity of the French stores, and also as being on the road from Bayonne to Madrid; but the gathering of French armies, both in his front and in his rear, obliged him at last (October 21) to raise the siege, and commence his retreat into his old winter-quarters in Portugal. At the same time, the British and Portuguese garrison evacuated Madrid, which Joseph re-entered (November 2).

302. The retreat of the British and their allies into Portugal was one of great danger, caused chiefly by the disorganisation of the troops themselves. Notwithstanding this untoward close of the campaign, however, its general effect had been glorious for the allies, and very disastrous for the French. The French had been driven out of half of the Spanish kingdom. The liberation of Cadiz from siege was in itself an important result. Moreover, both throughout Spain and in Great Britain, confidence in the policy of the Peninsular War, and in the generalship of Wellington, had risen higher than ever. The number of the British soldiers in the Peninsula had at no time exceeded 50,000; but it was now felt that in no way

could Britain put forth her strength so as to be more harassing to Napoleon than by keeping up this little army in the Peninsula, where Napoleon's brother nominally reigned. Wellington's position as virtual viceroy of Portugal had given him command over the Portuguese resources from the first; and his appointment to be generalissimo of the Spanish forces, after the battle of Salamanca (September 22, 1812), promised to give him that means of control over the Spaniards which he had hitherto been without. The Spanish democrats, indeed, resented his appointment to the chief command in Spain, and one or two Spanish generals of distinction refused to serve under him. On the whole, however, it was with the certainty of being able to renew the contest in Spain with increased means and success in the spring of 1813, that Wellington remained during the winter of 1812–13 shut up in Portugal. Leaving him here in the meantime, let us narrate an extraordinary series of events which had been taking place in Northern Europe, and the result of which was, that when Wellington did resume his contest against the Napoleonic Empire in Spain, that empire was already tottering to its ruin.

303. From the commencement of 1812, all Europe had been expecting the great struggle which was at hand between Napoleon and the Emperor Alexander of Russia. Napoleon, on his side, exulted in the prospect of a trial of strength with his imperial rival. His dream now was nothing less than that of universal empire over the whole civilised earth; and it was through a war with Russia that he hoped to realise this dream. 'With eight hundred thousand men,' he said to Fouché, 'I can oblige all Europe to obey me. I will destroy Russia, and then Spain will easily fall. My destiny is not yet accomplished; I have but drawn the outline of a picture, which I must fill up. I must make one nation out of all the European states, and Paris must be the capital of the world. There must be all over Europe but one legislative code, one court of appeal, one currency, one standard of weights and measures.' While these sentiments were filling the brain of

the extraordinary man who, though only in his forty-third year, had already achieved more as a conqueror than any man of modern times, French armies were already on the move into Prussia, Pomerania, and the Polish duchy of Warsaw. It was not till early in May 1812, however, that the rupture between France and Russia was openly signified. On the 9th of May, Napoleon set out for Dresden, which he had appointed as a rendezvous for his tributary sovereigns and for his generals. Alexander, on his part, had come to Wilna, there to prepare the defence of his empire.

304. At Dresden, Napoleon and Maria-Louisa held court amid the kings and queens, princes and princesses, and dukes and duchesses, who, obedient to the summons of their master, had come to offer their contingents to the great army about to invade Russia. The emperor and empress of Austria were there; the king of Prussia; the kings of Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, and Westphalia; and many inferior potentates. Military and diplomatic arrangements were made in the midst of festivities. Final proposals, on the part of Napoleon, were sent to the Russian emperor at Wilna, by whom they were rejected. War was then formally declared (June 12, 1812), and orders were given for the vast forces which had, in the meantime, been assembling near the Russian frontier from all parts of the Napoleonian Empire, to cross the Niemen, and carry the war into the midst of Russia. These forces amounted in all to upwards of 500,000 men. Of these, 270,000 were French; 80,000 were Germans, supplied by Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg, and Westphalia; 30,000 were Austrians; 20,000 were Prussians; 30,000 were Poles, commanded by Poniatowski; and 40,000 were Italians, under Eugene. The remainder consisted of smaller contingents from various quarters. Even this vast host, however, was but a portion of the whole military strength of the empire. As many as 300,000 men, mostly native Frenchmen, remained to conduct the war in the Spanish peninsula; and at least as many more of different nations were left scattered in garrisons over France, Italy, &c., as a reserve upon which Napoleon could fall back, if

it was needed. Napoleon had no doubt, however, that the 500,000 men he had set apart for the conquest of Russia would be amply sufficient for that enterprise. Nor was there any misgiving throughout the army, except in the minds of some of the older and more cautious generals. The soldiers and the younger officers were full of enthusiasm; and veterans who had been with the emperor when he entered Vienna, Berlin, and Madrid, looked forward with eagerness to the honour of attending him in his entry into Moscow. As was natural, the Poles in the army were among the most enthusiastic in their demonstrations of joy. Should the enterprise succeed, they did not doubt that Napoleon, who had already, by the establishment of the duchy of Warsaw, done something towards the restoration of the Polish nationality, would do more still in the same direction; and, at all events, to join in an invasion of the territories of the hereditary enemy of Poland, was in itself a vengeance dear to every Polish heart.

305. On the 24th of June, the first of the invading troops crossed the Niemen, and the rest soon followed. The main body, consisting of about 220,000 men, was under the command of Napoleon in person, with Davoust, Ney, and Oudinot as his immediate subordinates. A second mass of 75,000 men was under the command of Jerome Bonaparte, king of Westphalia, and in this body were included the Poles under Poniatowski, and the Saxons and Westphalians. A similar army of 75,000 men, including the Italian contingent, was commanded by the Viceroy Eugene, with Junot and St Cyr under him. Finally, the Austrians and others under Prince Schwartzenberg, and the Prussians and others under the command of Marshal Macdonald, formed two distinct armies on the extreme right and left. Each of these five bodies had a particular work assigned to it in the general scheme of the invasion. The main body was to act against the main body of the Russians, which consisted of about 130,000 men, under the command of Barclay de Tolly, the Russian general-in-chief; Jerome's army was to direct itself against a second Russian army under Prince Bagrathion; while

the others were to support these two by acting against the Russian reserves.

306. Alexander had made all the preparation he could for resisting the invasion. He had issued proclamations to his people, appealing to their patriotism and to their religious zeal. With his generals he had concerted a plan of defence suitable for the exigency, and rendered necessary by the smallness of the Russian regular army as compared with that of Napoleon. This plan consisted in not offering battle to the invading army, if it could be avoided, but in slowly retiring before them, harassing them as much as possible by continual attacks on a small scale, and devastating the country in the route of their march, so as to deprive them of all supplies. The results of these arrangements were more formidable to Napoleon than he had expected. He found no difficulty, indeed, in leading his vast army across the Niemen, and taking possession of that portion of Russia formerly belonging to Poland, which still retained its ancient name of Lithuania. He entered Wilna, the capital of this country, on the 28th of June, and remained there till the 16th of July. The Poles of the army and the patriotic Lithuanians were delighted to see the great conqueror master of the old Polish city; and deputations waited on him, soliciting him to take the opportunity of proclaiming the reconstruction of the Polish nation. Connected as he was with Austria and Prussia, however, Napoleon was obliged to put off these deputations with vague promises, and without committing himself to anything. He 'had guaranteed Austria all her present possessions,' he said, and 'what could be done for the Poles must depend on their own efforts and the fate of the war.' Meanwhile, the two Russian armies had fallen back to the Dnieper and the Dwina, leaving the whole tract between the Niemen and these two rivers at the mercy of the French. They had effectually removed all stores, however, so that it was only by marauding among the wretched Lithuanian peasantry that the French could find the means of support. Their cruelties and excesses exasperated the peasantry, and produced demoralisation amongst themselves; a continuance of heavy rains destroyed

the provender for the horses, so that upwards of 10,000 of them died; as many as 120 guns had consequently to be abandoned for want of horses to draw them; and, finally, contagious diseases broke out, which filled the hospitals with as many as 25,000 men at a time. Bands of Cossacks also ranged over parts of the country, cutting off stragglers from the French army. Altogether, not fewer than 100,000 men were killed, disabled by disease, captured by the Russians, or lost by desertion, during the passage through Lithuania. Napoleon saw that it was only by advancing that he could save the rest of his army from disorganisation. Accordingly, leaving a reserve behind at Wilna, and in other parts of Lithuania, he pushed forward himself, with the main body of his troops, in the direction of the Russian capital. After some fighting with the Russians, he crossed the Dnieper, and advanced towards Smolensk. On the 16th of August, he reached this city, expecting to give battle to the main Russian army under its walls. But the Russian general, Barclay de Tolly, adhering to the plan of defence which had been agreed upon, deemed it best to retire towards Moscow; and, accordingly, he engaged with the French only so far as to give the inhabitants of Smolensk time to evacuate the town, carrying all their stores and movable property with them. Then, setting fire to the town, he retreated in good order, leaving little else than the blazing ruins as a trophy for the invaders. Enraged and disappointed, Napoleon continued the pursuit, advanced bodies of his army engaging here and there with bodies of the vigilant Russians. On the 7th of September, the two main armies met and engaged in battle for the first time at the village of Borodino, on the river Moskwa. Barclay de Tolly had by this time been superseded in the chief command of the Russian army by Kutusoff, a Russian general of high reputation for his previous services. Both armies were of about the same strength—130,000 men each; but they fought with a different spirit—the Russians with the dogged obstinacy of men defending the capital of their country, the French like enraged men, near the object of their wishes, and not accustomed to be beaten. History records no battle which was more terribly contested,

or in which the carnage was so tremendous. The Russians lost 15,000 in killed, and 32,000 in wounded and prisoners; of the French, 12,000 were killed, and 38,000 wounded. On the whole, the turn of the battle—it could hardly be called a victory—was on the side of the French, and the Russians continued their retreat. On the 13th of September, they entered Moscow. It was debated among their generals whether they should again give battle to the invaders in defence of this city, or whether, following the plan adopted at Smolensk, they should abandon the city, after having spoiled it of whatever could be carried away, and caused the bulk of its inhabitants to desert it. The latter plan was adopted; and, with heavy hearts, the Russians defiled through the streets of their beloved capital, the holy city of Russia, and left it to be occupied by the enemy. It was on the 14th of September that the French came in sight of the city—the resting-place, as they imagined, from the toils of their long march, and the place from which their chief was to dictate terms to Russia. As Napoleon gazed on the city, whose gilded cupolas and minarets, rising from the midst of trees and gardens, imparted an Oriental character to the scene, he was heard to say: 'And this is the famous Moscow! It is time.' That same day, the French troops entered the city; and on the following day, Napoleon took up his residence in the Kremlin, the ancient palace of the Russian czars.

307. The welcome of the French into Moscow was not what they had expected. The city was all but empty; none but a few of the lowest ranks, out of its entire population of 300,000, having remained behind to witness what the invaders would do. Nor was this all. On the very night on which the French entered the city, a fire broke out in one of the streets, which was extinguished with difficulty; and on the next night, fires again broke out in several quarters of the city, which defied all attempts to extinguish them, and at last joined in one vast conflagration. For four days the flames raged, consuming houses and shops of all kinds, with what they contained—the French soldiers, meanwhile, and the Russian rabble who

bore them company, rushing about the city beyond all power of discipline or control, breaking into wine and spirit shops, and searching for pillage in the burning houses. Napoleon had been obliged to leave the Kremlin on the 16th, and to await the result of the conflagration outside the city. On the 21st, he returned. The flames had by this time ceased; but not till 7682 houses, or four-fifths of the entire city, had been destroyed, and many lives lost amid the riot and confusion.

308. To this day there is considerable uncertainty as to the true origin of the fire of Moscow. The general opinion has been that the Russian authorities themselves projected and executed it, as a means of foiling the French, and reducing them to extremities. Count Rostopchin, governor of Moscow, was said to have determined on the desperate act in a council of the Russian nobles, and to have seen it executed himself. In an account of the transaction, written some years after, however, Rostopchin denied this, and declared that the fire had arisen from the determination of some private Russians to destroy their own property, rather than let it come into the hands of the French. In any case, it is probable that by this awful sacrifice, made by the Russians in their paroxysm of patriotic frenzy, Russia was saved. The desertion and destruction of Moscow perplexed Napoleon beyond measure. It deprived him of the supplies on which he had calculated, and also of his means of acting on Russian public opinion through the inhabitants of the capital. Proclamations which he had prepared, addressed to the Russian serfs, and setting forth the advantages they would derive from the conquest of the country by the French, were now useless, for there were few or none to read them. Pent up in a deserted city, and with the Russians occupying all the country round, the French found every day more difficulty in procuring provisions and provender. Their cavalry ranged over wider and still wider circles, as foragers in a strange country; the Russian Cossacks hovering about them wherever they went, and continually thinning their numbers. At length, to such extremities were the French reduced, that horseflesh, and even the flesh of cats and

dogs, had to be used by them as food. The Russians, meanwhile, taking up such positions in the surrounding country as they chose, and gradually hemming Moscow round, were abundantly supplied with whatever they required, and were in the highest spirits. Their courage, and that of the entire Russian people, was increased still more when it was learned that Napoleon had proposed to negotiate with the Emperor Alexander, and had, for that purpose, sent to the camp of Kutusoff a letter, addressed to the emperor at St Petersburg, to which letter Alexander had disdained to return an answer. Proclamations of Alexander, issued from St Petersburg, announced his fixed resolution not to treat with the invader, and also his conviction that before long the French, driven by famine from Moscow, would have to cut their way back to the frontier through the Russian armies.

309. Napoleon had but two alternatives before him—either to remain during the winter at Moscow, doing his best to provide food for his army by killing and salting down the horses, and whatever else could be obtained that would support life, and trusting to the chances that might meanwhile occur for gaining a decisive advantage over Alexander; or to retreat by the way he had come. There was infinite danger in either alternative. His pride, as well as his unwillingness, as a matter of policy, to make a retrograde step in any enterprise once begun, inclined him to the first; but overwhelming reasons determined him to adopt the latter. The distance between Moscow and the frontiers of his empire was so great, that, notwithstanding all the precautions he had taken to leave reserves in the route by which he had advanced, he had good reason to fear that his communications might be cut off. Moreover, during his absence, might not Austria, Prussia, and the other nations of Europe, take the opportunity of rising and recovering their independence? During his advance towards Moscow, he had heard of the battle of Salamanca, and of Wellington's other successes in Spain; and not only might Spain be lost altogether before his return, but the contagion of revolt might extend into Italy and other parts of his empire. Nay, in France itself, and

even in Paris, might not revolution burst forth? These reasonings decided him; and, accordingly, on the 19th of October, or five weeks after his first entry into Moscow, he gave the order for retreat. By the 22d, the whole army, reduced by this time to 105,000 men, with 600 guns, had left the city, carrying with them vast quantities of silks, furs, plate, and other rich booty, collected by pillage. Napoleon had left orders to the rear-guard to blow up the Kremlin with gunpowder before their departure; but the order was only partially carried into effect.

310. And now began one of the most disastrous marches of which there is any record in history. It was Napoleon's object to arrive at Smolensk as soon as possible, where he expected to find plenty of provisions as well as reinforcements. But the main Russian army and clouds of Cossacks were between him and Smolensk, and after determining on one line of march, he had to choose another. At Maro-Jaroslavitz, a sanguinary engagement took place, on the 24th of October, between a portion of the army under the Viceroy Eugene and the Russians under Doctoroff, in which 5000 of the French perished. On the 26th, the army reached the battle-field of the Borodino, where they had fought seven weeks before, and which was yet strewn with thousands of unburied corpses, and the other wrecks of that awful battle. Here they were joined by some forces that had been left behind; after which, resuming the retreat, with Cossacks hovering about them and cutting off stray detachments, they reached Wiazma on the 2d of November. Here another battle was fought between their rear-guard and the Russians under Milaradovitch, with a loss to the French of 6000 men. By this time, what with the losses in battle with the main army of pursuit, what with losses by the incessant attacks of the Cossacks, and what with losses by fatigue, disease, and want of food, the fighting strength of the army was reduced to about 60,000 men; the remainder consisting of a disorderly rabble accompanying the baggage and the artillery. Marshal Ney was placed in command of the rear, with instructions to offer

as stubborn a resistance to the Russians as possible, so as to gain time for the advanced portions of the army. But a more dreadful enemy than the Russians now began its ravages among the retreating masses of men. The weather had hitherto been fine for the season in Russia; but on the 6th of November, while the army was yet a few days' march from Smolensk, the Russian winter set in suddenly with more than its usual severity. Thick cold fogs descended, rolling and whirling from the heavens; sleety blasts swept the earth; and at length snow came down in large flakes, darkening the whole atmosphere, and speedily covering hills, trees, and all the undulations of the ground with a mantle of white. Chilled to the bones, the men staggered on through the snow and mist, hundreds falling benumbed and frostbitten in every day's march. The horses perished by thousands; guns, wagons, and baggage had to be abandoned. In vain at night the men tried to kindle fires; wherever they rested, a circle of frozen bodies was left on the morrow. Without other provisions, the soldiers greedily ate raw horseflesh, and even, it is said, the bodies of their fallen companions. Reckless and famishing bands left the main body, and were cut down by the Cossacks. It was not till the 9th that the wreck of the army reached Smolensk, when it appeared that not more than 36,000 fighting-men remained, with a proportionate number of stragglers and baggage. At Smolensk, instead of the plentiful supplies which had been expected, only scanty stores of flour, rice, and spirits were found. Hastily gorging these, the troops again pushed on through the snow, the valiant Ney, as before, commanding the rear-guard, and keeping the pursuing Russians at bay by incessant fighting. For several days the army had to fight its way through the enemy, so that when the rear-guard reached Orcha on the 20th, not more than 12,000 of the once great army were fit for duty. Fortunately, at this point, a corps of reserve, consisting of about 50,000 men, which had been left in this part of the country under Victor and Oudinot, joined the fugitives; and, when Napoleon reached the river Berezina, it was with an army of between 60,000 and

70,000 men, besides a mass of stragglers and wounded. In the passage of this river, however, which took place on the 26th and 27th of November, more than 20,000 men perished, partly by the fire of the enemy, who had assembled in great strength on both sides of the river, and partly by drowning amid the masses of ice which encumbered the river, and broke down one of the wooden bridges while it was loaded with men. Besides these, about 16,000 fell into the hands of the Russians. What survived of the army consisted of about 50,000 men altogether, totally broken up. These pressed on in confusion towards Wilna; but, before they reached that town, Napoleon left the army, in a sledge, accompanied only by his secretary, and hastened to Paris by the nearest route. It was on the 5th of December, and at a place called Smorgoni, that he left the army; on the 10th he arrived at Warsaw; on the 14th at Dresden; and on the night of the 18th he reached Paris. He had intrusted the chief command of the remaining skeleton of the army to Murat; but such was the disorganisation produced by past sufferings and by the news of the emperor's departure, that although a reinforcement of 25,000 men came up at Smorgoni, not more than 40,000 in all reached Wilna on the 9th, the rest having deserted or perished. Even of these 40,000, not more than 30,000 reached the Niemen, and crossed that river on the 13th—the sole remaining fragment, excluding some bodies of Austrian and Prussian auxiliaries, of the magnificent army of 500,000 men which, less than six months before, had passed the same river to conquer Russia. Few even of these reached their homes in safety.

311. Altogether, it is calculated that in the Russian expedition the army of Napoleon lost 125,000 men slain by the enemy; 132,000 killed by hunger, cold, and disease; and 193,000 detained prisoners in Russia. Among these prisoners, there were no fewer than 3000 officers and 48 generals. In the following spring, when the snows melted, as many as 308,000 dead bodies were found along the line of march in Russia and Lithuania; of whom about one-half, however, must have been Russians. The loss of

the French in horses, guns, and wagons, must also have been immense; while the loss to the Russians, from the destruction of property by fire and pillage in Moscow and its vicinity, was estimated at about fifty millions sterling.

312. The impression produced on all Europe by the results of the Russian expedition was prodigious. It seemed as if fortune had now decisively turned against the daring man who had been so long her favourite, and as if the nations he held in subjection had only to exert a little strength on their own account to complete his ruin. Prussia was the first to stir. The patriotism of the Prussian people, and their joy at Napoleon's reverses, burst forth in irrepressible demonstrations; and over the whole country there was a demand for the expulsion of the French troops, and for the restoration of Prussia to that position in Europe from which she had been degraded by the Peace of Tilsit. The advance of the Russian forces into Prussia, in pursuit of the French, increased the enthusiasm. The Prussians welcomed them as deliverers; and when, on the 11th of March 1813, Wittgenstein, who, by the death of Kutusoff, had succeeded to the chief Russian command, entered Berlin, the population of that city received him with shouts of triumph. The Prussian king no longer hesitated. Escaping from Potsdam, he published a proclamation summoning his people to arms for the enfranchisement of their native land; and in the middle of March he met the Russian emperor at Breslau, and concluded an alliance with him. The two sovereigns then declared the confederation of the Rhine to be dissolved, and called upon all the German princes and states to join the alliance against the common enemy. Throughout Germany the response to this call on the part of the people was immediate and cordial. The German sovereigns, however, had a more difficult part to play. The king of Saxony, grateful for the past favours he had received from Napoleon, absolutely refused to desert his cause, and abandoned Dresden to the Russians; and the emperor of Austria, as the father-in-law of Napoleon, was anxious rather to mediate between

him and his enemies, than to take part against him. But there were not wanting adhesions out of Germany, to compensate the alliance for the neutrality of Austria. Sweden, already attached to Russia, agreed to act with the allies on condition of receiving Norway as her reward when the war was over—a condition perfectly agreeable to the allies, inasmuch as Denmark, to which Norway belonged, still adhered to Napoleon. Finally, Great Britain, whose enmity to Napoleon had continued the same through all changes of fortune, was ready to assist the allies with her ships, her wealth, and her influence in Northern Europe, while she still continued the war in Spain on her own account.

313. Napoleon, on his side, made gigantic efforts to meet this new coalition. Notwithstanding his dreadful reverses in Russia, the French people still clung to him as a kind of demigod, who might be thrown down for a time, but could not be vanquished. During his absence, there had been a slight attempt at insurrection in Paris, caused by a rumour of his death; but no sooner had he reappeared among the Parisians, than they hastened to shew their unabated affection. A conscription of 350,000 men was immediately and unanimously voted by the senate; and though, in consequence of the previous drains to which France had been subjected by Napoleon's incessant wars, this vast force was only raised by anticipating the legal age of the conscripts, and taking recruits who were mere boys, yet, in the general enthusiasm, hardly a murmur of complaint was heard. The chief cities of France even raised volunteer bands, in addition to their share in the conscription. Troops were also withdrawn from Spain for the approaching contest in Germany. The enormous expenses entailed by the new armament were provided for by new taxes and other financial devices. Until Napoleon himself should arrive on the scene of war, the command there was held by the Viceroy Eugene—Murat, under whose charge Napoleon had left the wrecks of his army of Moscow, having, in a fit of despondency, quitted the post assigned him, and consulted his own interests by returning to Naples.

314. On the 15th of April 1813, Napoleon left Paris to take the command of the army, having appointed Maria-Louisa regent during his absence, and taken other precautions for securing the empire to his infant son, in case of his own death. The total number of the Prussians then under arms, including garrisons and reserves, amounted to 128,000 men, commanded in chief by Blucher, Yorke, and Bulow; the Russians in the field, between the Vistula and the Elbe, amounted to 166,000 men, of whom about 40,000, under Wittgenstein, formed the main army. The Prussian and Russian sovereigns had their head-quarters at Dresden; Napoleon had his at Erfurth. After various slight actions and movements, a French army of 115,000 men, commanded by Napoleon, met a combined army of 169,000 Russians and Prussians, under Wittgenstein, at Lutzen, where a terrible battle was fought (May 2), in which the French lost 13,000 men, and the allies 15,000. The victory, though not very decisive, was on the side of the French; and Napoleon entered Dresden, and restored the king of Saxony to his throne and his capital. In another great battle fought at Bautzen (May 19), between 96,000 Russians and Prussians, and a much larger army of Frenchmen, Napoleon was again victorious. Still, as the allied sovereigns were stubborn in their resolution to carry on the war, these successes had no effectual result. 'How different from the old days of Austerlitz and Jena,' said the soldiers, 'when one victory ended a campaign!' The death, in battle, of two of Napoleon's favourite officers, Bessières and Duroc, also affected him much, and seemed to fill his mind with gloomy forebodings.

315. Meanwhile, Austria was labouring anxiously, through the agency of one of her ablest diplomatists, Count Metternich, to bring about peace. To allow time for these efforts of Austria, an armistice was agreed upon, which was to expire on the 10th of August. Napoleon took up his residence in Dresden, where Metternich visited him, with proposals on the part of Austria. As these proposals involved the complete evacuation of Germany by the French troops, Napoleon refused to agree to them, but offered to give Austria back her Illyrian provinces if

she would remain neutral. Metternich replied, that the position of European affairs was such, that the Austrian emperor, notwithstanding his relationship to Napoleon, must join the allies, unless the terms proposed were accepted. At length, the armistice having expired on the 10th of August, Austria openly joined the allies, and the war was resumed.

316. Distinct treaties had in the meantime been made, by which Prussia, Russia, Austria, Sweden, and Great Britain, had pledged themselves to a joint policy in conducting the war, and to certain European arrangements after it had been concluded. Austria brought her great military strength over to the side of the allies; Sweden contributed an army of 24,000 men under the crown-prince Bernadotte; Great Britain gave her contribution in the shape of a German legion of 10,000, and large subsidies of money, to be paid within a year, to Prussia and Russia. Napoleon, on his side, had concluded an alliance with Denmark, which brought a force of 12,000 Danes into Germany to assist him. Murat, likewise, ashamed of his defection after the retreat of Moscow, had come back to give his services, as 'the first cavalry-officer in Europe,' to his master and brother-in-law. On the other hand, the allies had gained an accession of military genius to their councils in the person of no less eminent a man than Napoleon's old rival, Moreau. Since his trial on the charge of conspiracy against Napoleon in 1804 (§ 257), this famous man had been living with his wife and family in America, as much respected for his modesty and integrity in private life as admired on account of his past military career. Knowing of what value his services might be in the struggle then going on, Bernadotte and the Emperor Alexander of Russia had earnestly invited him to come over and join the allies against the man who had injured him. In an evil hour, Moreau consented, and it remains almost the sole blot on his fair fame, that he, a Frenchman and a general of the French Revolution, allowed himself at last to be persuaded to serve against France.

317. On the resumption of hostilities in August 1813, the total force at the command of the allies was not less

than 700,000 men—Prussians, Russians, Austrians, and Swedes. Of these, about 190,000 were occupied in besieging Dantzic, Stettin, and other Prussian towns, garrisoned by about 80,000 Frenchmen in all. The remainder, under Schwartzenberg, Bernadotte, Blucher, Wittgenstein, and other generals, were divided into separate armies, co-operating, according to a concerted plan, in Saxony, Silesia, Bavaria, Bohemia, and other fields of action. The Emperor Alexander of Russia, the king of Prussia, and the emperor of Austria, moved about from place to place, each accompanied by his staff. Moreau was attached to the staff of the Russian emperor.

318. Suddenly, on the 25th of August, while Napoleon and the bulk of his forces were engaged in Silesia, the grand combined army, Austrians, Russians, and Prussians, with the allied sovereigns in the midst of them, appeared before Dresden, then weakly defended by a body of troops under St Cyr. All that day, and on the next, there was obstinate fighting around the city, which was on the point of being taken, when Napoleon, who had pressed on from Silesia by forced marches, came up with his main army. On the 27th, a great battle took place between 130,000 French and 160,000 of the allies. The battle was one of Napoleon's most splendid successes. The allies were completely beaten, having lost 6000 in killed and wounded, besides a corps of 13,000 Austrians, who were forced in a mass to lay down their arms. In this battle, Moreau was mortally wounded by a cannon-shot, which shattered both his legs while he was conversing on the field with the Emperor Alexander. So entire was the defeat of the allies, that it is supposed that if Napoleon had offered to negotiate at this moment, he would have been able to dictate the terms, or, at least, to detach Russia or Prussia from the alliance. Several great victories, however, gained about the same time by the allies in other parts of Germany, neutralised the effects of the triumph at Dresden. At Culm, the French general, Vandamme, was signally defeated, and made prisoner, with 8000 of his men, by an army of the allies under Ostermann and Kleist. At Gross Beeren, Oudinot, with a force of 80,000 men, was beaten

by the Swedes and Prussians under Bernadotte. Oudinot was superseded in his command in consequence, and Ney appointed in his stead; but on the 6th of September, Ney also was beaten by Bernadotte, with a loss of 13,000 men, at Dennewitz, near Berlin. Finally, on the Katzbach, in Silesia, a French army of 80,000 under Macdonald was beaten, with a loss of 7000 in killed and wounded, and no fewer than 18,000 prisoners, by the Prussian general, Blucher—an exploit which made the name of Blucher, who was then in his seventy-second year, for the first time famous as a warrior on a great scale.

319. Napoleon himself appeared for the moment to be stunned. An event which happened early in October, shewed him how greatly the confidence in his cause had been shaken. This was the defection of Bavaria, a power hitherto most faithful to him, but which at last yielded to the threats and persuasions of Austria, and joined the allies. The example of Bavaria was contagious; and it was evident that Baden and Würtemberg would speedily follow it. The king of Saxony remained true; but his subjects sympathised with the Bavarians.

320. Napoleon felt that he had no option but to retreat. In his retreat, however, he made one final stand at Leipsic. 'One victory,' he said, 'only one, and Germany may still be mine.' With the addition of reinforcements which had come from France, he was able to command about 140,000 for this last experiment. Under him, in the command of this force, were Murat, Ney, Marmont, Augereau, Bertrand, Victor, Lauriston, Macdonald, Sebastiani, and the Pole Poniatowski. The forces of the allies, when they had all assembled, were vastly greater than those of Napoleon, numbering no fewer than 230,000 men, commanded in chief by the Austrian Schwartzenberg, and, under him, by Blucher, Bernadotte, Benningsen, Colloredo, Kleist, and other generals. The battle, or series of battles, spread over three days—the 16th, 17th, and 18th of October; and it was not till the last of these that all the strength on both sides was engaged. On that tremendous day, despite all the fury of French valour, conscious of what was at stake, Napoleon was overwhelmed by the numbers arrayed against

him. The desertion of a body of 10,000 Saxons early in the day, contributed greatly to the defeat. During the night which followed the slaughter, Napoleon gave orders for a retreat; and on the morning of the 19th, the bulk of what remained of his army were in hot march towards the Rhine. A body of troops, under Macdonald, Lauriston, and Poniatowski, were left to oppose the entry of the allies into Leipsic as long as possible. Their efforts were vain; the allies poured into the town; and at that moment the accidental blowing up of the bridge over the Elster, cut off the communication between the brave residue and the retreating main army. Macdonald swam across the stream; Poniatowski was drowned in attempting to do so; and 15,000 men, with the king of Saxony and many officers of rank, were made prisoners. Inclusive of these, the total loss of the French in the terrible three days of Leipsic was 60,000 men; and that of the allies was not much less.

321. Disorganised and shattered, a mass of fugitives rather than an army, the 80,000 men, who were all that remained to Napoleon out of his great army of Leipsic, were pressing on towards Mayence, when they found themselves unexpectedly opposed at Hanau (October 30), by a force of their old allies the Bavarians, in conjunction with Austrians, under Marshal Wrede. These they defeated, though not without hard fighting, and the loss of 10,000 men. During the remainder of the retreat, the army was so thinned by desertion and disorganisation, that not more than 40,000 were led across the Rhine by Napoleon. As soon as this task had been accomplished, Napoleon set out for Paris, where he arrived on the 9th of November. Murat had taken his leave of him some days before, and set out on his return to Naples.

322. Germany was now liberated. The French garrisons left in Magdeburg, Dantzic, Stettin, Dresden, and other towns—amounting in all to about 100,000 men—had either surrendered during Napoleon's retreat, or were speedily compelled to do so. By the surrender of Dresden alone, which was commanded by St Cyr, the allies obtained upwards of 30,000 prisoners of war, including many

generals. General Rapp defended Dantzic till his garrison was reduced to 16,000 men. The Danish army in Northern Germany, after being hard pressed by Bernadotte, capitulated; and the court of Denmark agreed to a treaty of peace. Jerome Bonaparte's kingdom of Westphalia had vanished like a house of cards, and with it all the other Napoleonian arrangements and combinations in Germany. Hanover relapsed into the possession of the British sovereign as its rightful elector. The Duke of Brunswick, the elector of Hesse, and other dispossessed German princes, were restored to their territories. All over Holland, too, the people rose, drove out the French officials, repudiated all connection with France, and, returning to their old form of government, received back the Prince of Orange-Nassau as the hereditary stadtholder of their republic. In short, when the allied sovereigns, after a short stay at Leipsic, advanced as far as the Rhine in the track of the expelled French army, they could look back on the whole Germanic region of Europe, and congratulate themselves that they had thoroughly swept it clear of French government and French garrisons. Over the length and breadth of Germany, one universal and joyous cry arose: 'No more French mastery; our Fatherland is free.'

323. The liberation of Germany was not the only great event of the famous year 1813. The same year witnessed the total destruction of the French power in the Spanish peninsula by the genius of Wellington. By his military successes in the previous year, it will be remembered (§ 302) the British general had driven the French out of half the Peninsula, although King Joseph still remained in possession of Madrid. During the winter of 1812–13, Wellington, in his winter-quarters in Portugal, had been making incessant preparations for the renewal of the struggle. By severe discipline, he had restored organisation among his own British troops, the numbers of which were increased by reinforcements from home. He had also—in the midst of obloquy from the Portuguese authorities, who resented the strict control which he exercised over them, and of opposition on the part of the Portuguese democrats, who accused him of aspiring after the crown

for himself—raised the Portuguese army to a high state of efficiency. In Spain, where he was in like manner unpopular with the greater portion of the native authorities, and even of the people, on account of his determination to give an exclusively military character to the war, and to have nothing to do with the political plans of revolution and reform which filled the Spanish mind, he had, by availing himself of his power as generalissimo of the Spanish armies, introduced a better organisation into all that was connected with the military service. In short, before the spring of 1813, he had an army of 200,000 men, on whom he could depend. Of these, not more than 50,000 were British soldiers, the remainder consisting of Spaniards, Portuguese, and Germans and other foreigners in the pay of Britain. The French army, meanwhile, had been so reduced by the drafts made upon it by Napoleon for his German war, as to be more nearly on a numerical equality with that of the allied British, Spaniards, and Portuguese, than it had ever before been. Its numbers amounted to about 220,000 men in all—in part under the command of Suchet, in Valencia and Catalonia; in part under Clausel and Jourdan, in the northern provinces, situated between Madrid and the Bay of Biscay. Soult, who had held the chief command in Spain, had been called away to Germany.

324. It was late in May 1813 when Wellington commenced his campaign; but within a month of that time a great battle was fought, which at one blow shivered the French rule in the Peninsula beyond the chance of repair. This was the famous battle of Vittoria, on the Ebro, fought on the 21st of June, between 60,000 of the allies under Wellington, and 70,000 of the French under Marshal Jourdan. In the French army was King Joseph, with a great number of French officials who had evacuated Madrid, and were on their way back to France with the rich plunder, in jewels, pictures, money, &c., which they had collected during their stay in Spain; and which, now that they were quitting Spain for ever, they were bent on preserving, partly as fortune for the rest of their lives, partly as trophies. The booty, indeed, of this kind which

had already passed from Spain into France was enormous; and there was no part of it which the Spaniards regretted more than the pictures of their native artists, which had been stripped from the walls of churches and other public buildings in all the Spanish cities by the French generals and officers. In the battle of Vittoria, the military losses of the French amounted to 7000 in killed and wounded, 3000 prisoners, and all their artillery and ammunition. So complete was the victory, that King Joseph and the wrecks of the army made all haste across the Pyrenees, pursued by Generals Hill and Graham.

325. Suchet with 60,000 men in Catalonia, and French garrisons in San Sebastian, Pampeluna, and Santona on the Pyrenean frontier—such were now the sole remains of the French dominion in the Peninsula. Napoleon, then resting at Dresden during the brief armistice which interrupted his German campaign, heard of the fact with dismay, and immediately sent Soult back to make an effort to retrieve what had been lost. Placing himself at the head of an army of about 80,000 men, assembled at Bayonne, and consisting chiefly of the remains of Jourdan's army beaten at Vittoria, Soult crossed the Pyrenees to oppose Wellington, and, if possible, relieve the besieged garrisons of Pampeluna, San Sebastian, and Santona. A series of military operations followed, shewing brilliant strategy on both sides, but which it is useless here to relate in detail. Suffice it to say that, after several severe battles in the Pyrenees between the allies and the French, Soult was obliged to retire into France; that San Sebastian was taken by storm, with atrocious excesses of vengeance on the part of the captors (August 26); that Pampeluna surrendered not long after (October 31); and that eventually Santona also surrendered, and Suchet was shut up in Catalonia. Before all these results had been attained, however, and, in fact, before Pampeluna had surrendered, Wellington, in obedience to orders received from the British government at home, had taken a step, the news of which thrilled, like an electric shock, through the heart of Europe. On the 7th of September, he passed the Bidassoa, in pursuit of

Soult, with a mixed army of British, Spaniards, and Portuguese, and thus *carried the war into France.*

326. At the very time, therefore, when Napoleon, after his disaster at Leipsic, returned to Paris, stripped of all his hardly contested dominion in Germany, he found that not only was his power also annihilated in Spain, but that the British general, by whom this result had been accomplished, was actually in possession of the south-western nook of France, whence all the efforts of Soult were insufficient to dislodge him. The fiery circle within which the combined nations of Europe were enclosing their gigantic foe was becoming narrower and narrower. On the east, the sovereigns of Germany, assembled at Frankfort, were preparing to invade France with their hosts; and here, already was France invaded by the persevering Briton! What was to be done?

327. If any man in Paris was in doubt as to what ought to be done, it was not Napoleon. Never had his courage seemed so high, his resolution so firm, his genius so prompt, and clear, and inventive. He plainly stated the condition of affairs to the nation. It was no longer, he said, a question of conquest; it was a question of self-defence. Either France must resist to her last man and her last sou, or she must see her territories covered and her capital occupied by mingled hosts of Austrians, Russians, Prussians, and British. As to the prudence of his own past conduct, and the question how far, in speaking as he did, he was pleading for his own interests, he could say little or nothing. 'France had more need of him, than he had of France.' 'Give him, then, a new conscription of 300,000 men, in addition to the 160,000 or thereby that remained out of the army of the previous year; give him double taxes and unlimited credit, and he would undertake yet to shatter the coalition of the enemies of France, and to save her place and name among the nations!' Strange to say, his demands were assented to. Murmurs of discontentment were, indeed, heard in Paris and throughout France; even the legislative body began to remonstrate against the emperor's reckless procedure,

and to urge changes in the government calculated to limit his authority; but the senate voted the new conscription and the financial measures which were necessary. The conscription was so arranged as to fall on men beyond the usual age; and in order to expedite it, officers were sent into all the country districts.

328. While thus preparing to risk all on a new war, Napoleon did not neglect the chances which were open to him by negotiation. The allied sovereigns having intimated to him that they were prepared to grant him peace, on condition of his resigning all his claims to any possessions beyond the boundaries of France as they existed in 1792, he appeared to listen to the offer—only demanding that, while restricting himself within France as his sole empire, the throne of Holland should be given to one of his brothers. His real end, however, was to gain time; and the negotiations were broken off by the allies, by the advice of the British government. The Chamber of Deputies, shewing dissatisfaction with Napoleon for refusing the terms offered, was dissolved by him with reproaches. But though refusing to treat with the allies on the basis offered, he thought it might be expedient to conclude a separate treaty with his captive, Ferdinand VII., king of Spain, resigning back to him his Spanish throne, and releasing him from his six years' imprisonment that he might take possession of it. Such a treaty was concluded (December 11) at Valençay, where (§ 276) Ferdinand had resided since 1808, and the liberated monarch was conveyed back to Spain. Napoleon's hope was, that by this means a new element of discord would be thrown into the Peninsula, or that the Spanish people, satisfied with the restoration of their native king, would accept the French alliance along with him, and would thus back out of the war, and leave Wellington without his Spanish resources. This hope was not fulfilled, for the liberation of Ferdinand made no change in the policy of the Spanish Cortes. Equally fruitless was the liberation at the same time of another illustrious captive, who had been a prisoner of Napoleon's nearly as long. This was the pope, Pius VII., who, having been detained at Savona

and other places since the extinction of his power in 1809 (§ 287), had been removed to Fontainebleau, after Napoleon's return from the Moscow expedition, with the idea that his presence in France might be turned to account at that crisis in the history of the empire. On the pope's return to Italy, he withdrew to his native town of Cesena, refusing to enter Rome, notwithstanding that he was invited to do so by Murat—that fickle and dashing brother-in-law of the emperor having again seen fit to desert his cause, and save his own Neapolitan throne by a separate treaty with the allies. In pursuance of this treaty, he was then acting against the Viceroy Eugene, and assisting the Austrians to wrest Central and Northern Italy from the French Empire.

329. The entire force arrayed against France, at the beginning of the year 1814, amounted to upwards of 1,000,000 of men of all nations, divided as follows:—the Grand Army, or Army of Bohemia, consisting of 260,000 Austrians, Russians, Prussians, and Germans of the minor states, commanded by Schwartzenberg, and appointed to enter France by the Swiss frontier; the Army of Silesia, consisting of 137,000 Prussians, Russians, and Germans, under Blucher, appointed to invade France on the north-east by Coblentz and Mayence; a miscellaneous army of 170,000 Prussians, Russians, Germans, Swedes, and Dutch, under Bernadotte, who were to form the Army of the North, and to act in Holland and Belgium; an Army of Reserve, consisting of about 240,000 men, distributed over Germany; an Italian Army of 80,000 Austrians and others, acting in Italy; and, lastly, Wellington's Peninsular Army of 140,000 British, Spanish, and Portuguese troops, already quartered within the French frontier, and pushing northward into France from the Pyrenees. Opposed to this enormous array, Napoleon had no more than 300,000 available men at the utmost. Of these, some 60,000 or 70,000 were in Italy, under Eugene, acting against the Austrian army there; about 120,000 more under the command of Soult and Suchet, resisting Wellington's invasion, and operating on Spain; so that not more than 110,000 or 120,000 remained to

oppose the invading masses of Austrians, Prussians, Russians, and Germans, under Schwartzenberg and Blucher, resting as these did on Bernadotte's Army of the North, and on the huge Army of Reserve behind it.

330. It was on the night of the 31st of December 1813, just as the bells of the churches were tolling out the old year and ringing in the new, that the first of the allied German and Russian forces crossed the Rhine and entered France. These belonged to Blucher's army; and before many days had passed, the whole of this army was on its march inwards in the direction of Paris, the French troops under Marmont retiring before it. Schwartzenberg's army had in the meantime entered Switzerland, from which side it also at various points entered France. The army of Bernadotte at the same time spread itself over Holland and Flanders, compelling Macdonald to retreat within the French territories. Thus along the whole eastern and north-eastern frontier of France was scattered the invading host, slowly moving in distinct bodies inward, according to the preconcerted plan of the war, till they should be concentrated at Paris. Such was the state of affairs, when Napoleon—having established a regency at Paris, consisting of his brother Joseph and the empress Maria-Louisa, and having intrusted the guardianship of his son, the young king of Rome, to this regency and the national guard of Paris—set out (January 23) to assume the command in person. He had taken leave of his wife and son with much emotion, and with a presentiment, as it seemed, that he should never behold them again. At the head-quarters of the army of defence, on the north-east, he was received with the old enthusiasm; and as his well-known figure moved amid their ranks, the men felt that, insignificant in numbers as they were, when compared with the invaders, they possessed in their leader a man whose brain could accomplish much with small materials, and all but create victories.

331. To narrate with any precision the events of the next month, and to describe the marchings and the counter-marchings of the opposed armies, would be a subject for a military history. Suffice it to say, that

military critics are of opinion that Napoleon's genius as a general was never more conspicuous, and that the amount of his success with his small means was prodigious. In his first battle with Blucher at Rothière (February 1; 1814), he was defeated; but, within a fortnight from that date, he gained three victories by rapid movements—one at Champaubert, over a Russian corps (February 9); another at Montmirail, over Sacken (February 11); and a third at Vauchamps, over Blucher himself (February 14). In the last engagement, Blucher was all but totally routed; and the three together had occasioned a loss of nearly 25,000 men in his army. Fresh from these achievements, Napoleon hurried away to support Victor and Oudinot, who were opposing the advance of Schwartzenberg's army along the Seine in the direction of Paris. He joined these generals at Montereau, rallied the French under their command, and gained a signal victory over a large force of the allies (February 18). Paralysed by this blow, Schwartzenberg refused to hazard a battle with him, and began to retreat, greatly to the disgust of Blucher, who continued to act on his own account. At this point it is necessary to glance at certain circumstances connected with what may be called 'the politics of the situation,' and which were such as to give Napoleon one more chance of peace.

332. United as the allies were against Napoleon for the present, there were differences among them as to ulterior proceedings. In the first place, they differed in the amount of their antipathy to the man against whom they were fighting, and in their estimate of the degree in which he ought to be humiliated. Great Britain and Prussia were perhaps the most implacable of his foes; Russia, though not equally vehement in her hostility, was still bent on punishing Napoleon for the invasion of 1812; but Austria found in the fact of his marriage with Maria-Louisa a reason for not pressing him too hard. The young king of Rome was the grandson of the Austrian emperor, and *his* interests might suffer if the allies were too ruthless in their persecution of his father. Moreover, the allies had really not yet made up their

minds how France was to be disposed of, in the event of their conquering Napoleon so completely as to be able to dethrone him. Ten or fourteen years before, in the days of Pitt and the first and second coalitions, there would have been no difficulty on this head. There was but one end which all the enemies of the Revolution then contemplated as the proper conclusion of the strife then going on—that end being, *the restoration of the Bourbons to the French throne.* Now, since the death of the poor dauphin, the child of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, in 1795 (§ 221), the head of the Bourbons, and the heir to their claims, such as they were, had been the Count of Provence, the uncle of this child, and the eldest surviving brother of the beheaded Louis. Born in 1755, this prince was thirty-six years of age when the progress of the Revolution drove him into exile (§ 197), thirty-eight when his brother perished on the scaffold, and forty when his nephew, the dauphin, died. After this last event, he had assumed the style and title of 'Louis XVIII., King of France;' and as such he was recognised by the emigrant royalists in the various countries where he sought refuge during his exile. There can be no doubt, therefore, that if, at any time prior to 1799, France had been conquered by the coalesced European powers, this legal representative of the Bourbons would have been placed on the French throne as a matter of course. The case was very different now. France had passed through many phases, had dominated over Europe, had imposed treaties, and established complicated connections with all countries, some of which were still binding. The French Revolution was now a distant event, the horrors of which were seen veiled, as it were, by the intervening splendours of the Directory, the Consulate, and the Empire. Many of the emigrant royalists of that Revolution were either dead or had returned to France; and the generation that had sympathised with them had all but passed away. Accordingly, amid all the consultations which had hitherto been going on among the allied powers engaged against Napoleon, the Count of Provence and his claims had hardly been so much as named. The defeat of Napoleon

was the primary object of the allies; whether, in case of that defeat, the opportunity should be taken to restore the Bourbons in France had hardly been considered. Meanwhile, however, the exiled Bourbons were alert in their own behalf, and were putting themselves forward, as it were, in order to remind Europe of their existence, and of the use to which they might be turned in the passing crisis. The Count of Provence was then in England, where he had been residing at Hartwell, in Buckinghamshire, since 1807. His younger brother, the Count of Artois, was residing at Holyrood, Edinburgh. Both were now elderly men—the Count of Provence being in his sixtieth year, and the Count of Artois not much younger. Taking counsel together and with their adherents, the two princes determined, on the invasion of France by the allies, to revive in connection with that event the question of their own restoration. Accordingly, at the very moment when the allies crossed the French frontier, proclamations, signed 'Louis XVIII.,' and calling on the French people to rise against Napoleon, were circulated in France; while, about the same time (February 1814), the Count of Artois, quitting Holyrood, made his way to the camp of Schwartzenberg; and the Duke of Angoulême, another scion of the Bourbon stock, who had married a daughter of Louis XVI., made his appearance in the camp of Wellington.

333. All these circumstances occasioning perplexity to the allies, and their dread of Napoleon in the field being still considerable, they had offered, even after their troops were fighting with his on the French soil, to treat once more with him in his character as the actual and recognised monarch of France. At the request of Austria, Napoleon had consented to the negotiation; and on the 4th of February 1814, a conference of diplomatists had been opened at Chatillon. At this conference, Napoleon was again offered peace, on condition of his giving up all his conquests out of France, and consenting to fix the boundaries of France as they had been before the French Revolution. At first, greatly to the delight of Austria, he seemed disposed to accept these terms; but, his confidence

having been increased by his victories over Blucher and Schwartzenberg, he had raised his demands, and insisted that the Rhine and the Alps should be the future boundaries of France. On this point, however, the allies were obdurate; and, accordingly, though the conferences were not formally dissolved till March 18, it was obvious, as early as the 1st of that month, that it would be necessary to refer the issue to the sword. Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, on that day agreed, by a Quadruple Treaty at Chaumont, to stand by each other till Napoleon should be crushed, and on no account to treat with him separately. Even yet, however, nothing was said about ulterior measures—nothing about the restoration of the Bourbons. Some royalists waited on the Russian emperor to ask him to recognise Louis XVIII.; but he would not commit himself by any promise. All must depend on the course of events!

334. Napoleon, with all his powers, and with all his activity, found that the course of events was beyond his control. Rapid as were his movements, he could not so distribute either himself or the forces at his disposal as to be a match for the vast masses of armed men then converging from different points towards Paris. Notwithstanding all the exertions of Soult, the invading army of the south under Wellington had, after a signal victory at Orthes (February 27), made its way northward towards the Garonne. In that part of France, the royalists, protected by the presence of Wellington's army, were very active; and at length, on the 12th of March, the important town of Bordeaux abandoned the cause of Napoleon, and declared in favour of Louis XVIII. The Duke d'Angoulême entered the town under a convoy of British troops, and was received with acclamations. The instinct of the people of Bordeaux only anticipated what was about to come to pass. Blucher's activity in the north-east was bringing him nearer and nearer to Paris, within which city, as well as in Bordeaux, the friends of the Bourbons were known to be busy. Several battles had been fought, early in March, between him and the French under Napoleon in person, or one or other of his generals.

In the last of these, fought at Laon (March 10), Blucher kept his ground. Shortly afterwards, the Austrian commander-in-chief, Schwartzenberg, renewed operations, and occupied Troyes (March 12). The road to Paris was open to both armies, and already a correspondence was going on between the city and the camps of Blucher and Schwartzenberg. By way of a final effort, Napoleon, leaving about 20,000 men under Marshals Marmont and Mortier, to keep Blucher in check, hastened to the relief of Macdonald and Oudinot, who were acting against Schwartzenberg. With about 60,000 men, he gave battle to Schwartzenberg, with at least 100,000, at Arcis-on-the-Aube (March 20). The battle was indecisive; and the allies were expecting Napoleon to renew it next day, when they were surprised by the intelligence that he was retreating with all haste in their rear in the direction of the Rhine.

335. In reality, Napoleon's retreat towards the Rhine was a subtle and profoundly calculated movement. It had long been his determination, as a last resource, to outwit the allies by slipping through them, and carrying the war back into the heart of Germany. 'They take Paris!' he had been heard to say; 'why, I am nearer to Munich than they are to Paris.' He calculated, by moving through Lorraine and other districts of the eastern frontier, to reinforce his army from the garrisons and peasantry of those districts, as well as to cut off the convoys and scattered bodies which the allies had left in their rear. But his chief reliance was that, when the allies knew that he was in their rear, they would find themselves obliged to arrest their march on Paris in order to follow him. His plan had nearly succeeded. When it became known at the head-quarters of the allies that Napoleon was on his march towards Germany, a council of war was held, at which some of the ablest generals urged the importance of immediately pursuing him. Others, however, among whom was the Emperor Alexander, penetrating Napoleon's design, advised an immediate advance to Paris. This advice was adopted; and the precaution having been taken of sending

a body of horse after Napoleon, to make him believe that the whole army had fallen into his snare, the two armies of Blucher and Schwartzenberg effected a junction at Chalons, and pressed on to the capital. Marmont and Mortier were on their way to join Napoleon by the very road along which the allies were advancing, when, finding the real state of affairs, they fell back, with all haste, to do what they could to protect Paris.

336. Napoleon was at St Dizier when the truth flashed upon him (March 27). Although he saw that nothing short of a miracle could now save him, he wheeled round immediately, shattered the body of Russian horse whose pursuit had deceived him, and pushed on, with all the haste of fury, towards Paris. As he advanced, he caused a rumour to go before him that he had opened a separate negotiation with Austria. But it was too late. On the 30th of March, the allies, after defeating the scanty forces of Marmont and Mortier at Montmartre, obtained possession of the heights which command Paris on that side, with the loss of 9000 men; and, amid the roar of hundreds of cannon, the panic-struck citizens were deaf to all the proclamations of the Regent Joseph, calling on them to defend the city. Accordingly, just as the allies were about to open fire on the city itself from the heights, Marmont and Mortier agreed to a surrender. The Empress Maria-Louisa and the infant king of Rome, had been removed to Blois for safety on the previous day; and Joseph followed them. On the 31st of March, the allied sovereigns and their forces entered the city, through the streets of which Cossacks, Prussians, Russians, and Austrians, in all their varied uniforms, tramped in wonder. It was at first feared by the Parisians that their city would be sacked; but the magnanimity of the Russian Emperor Alexander prevented such a catastrophe, and life and property were protected. All this Napoleon learned at a small village about fifteen miles from Paris, to which he had pushed on by himself, in advance of his army, on the 30th, and from which he removed to Fontainebleau, there to await further intelligence.

337. Even after the fall of Paris and the entry of the

sovereigns and their armies into the city, it was by no means certain that the allies would not still recognise Napoleon as ruler of France, and come to terms with him. That they did not do so arose less from any deliberate intention of their own before entering Paris, than from what they found going on in the city after entering it. In the first frenzy of their delight that their city had been spared, the Parisians laid no restraint on their expressions of gratitude, and, forgetting all but the passing moment, turned, in a manner which seemed shameful even to the allies, against the man they had so recently obeyed and worshipped. The mobs in the streets shouted against Napoleon as against a fallen tyrant whose rule they had borne unwillingly; they cheered the allied monarchs, and especially the Emperor Alexander, in whom they instinctively recognised the ablest and most influential of them; they slobbered with their kisses the very boots of the Cossacks as they rode through the streets; they rushed to the busts and statues of Napoleon, and began to tear them down. While such was the behaviour of the mob, the men of authority were, in a more secret manner, paying their respects to the allied rulers. Talleyrand, who had been for some weeks negotiating with them, was taken into their confidence, and he and some others had great influence on their deliberations. There were, of course, multitudes in the city who still adhered to Napoleon, but they were reduced to silence. Such being the state of affairs, the allies naturally came to the conclusion, that the time had come for dealing with Napoleon in a decisive manner. For the same reason, there was no necessity for making a reservation in favour of his dynasty. To have deposed Napoleon, and proclaimed the young king of Rome, under a regency, would have been a change only in appearance: even Austria was obliged to admit this. In short, there was but one course that could be adopted—that of restoring the Bourbons. The professed adherents of the Bourbons, indeed, were by no means numerous in the city, but they alone could make any demonstration, the republicans as well as the Napoleonists being forced to keep silence; and when the cry of 'Louis XVIII.' was

raised, many joined in it because there was no other. Talleyrand was the most active in this cause; and at his instigation, the senate passed two acts—the one declaring the forfeiture of Napoleon and his dynasty (April 2), the other recalling the Bourbons (April 6). This was done with the assent of the allied monarchs; and before a few days had passed, white cockades swarmed in the streets of Paris, and the Count d'Artois and other scions of the House of Bourbon arrived, as harbingers of their chief, who had been summoned from his retreat in Buckinghamshire to occupy in his old age, after twenty-three years of exile, the throne of his forefathers.

338. Napoleon at Fontainebleau heard all this with agitated feelings. At first he stormed and raged, and talked of carrying his 50,000 men to the south of France, and there, along with Soult and Suchet, continuing the struggle. His generals and other officers, however, distinctly refused to co-operate in any such enterprise, and insisted that he should abdicate. With a few exceptions, among whom was Marshal Macdonald, they all fell off, and left him to himself. On the 4th of April, accordingly, he signed an act of abdication. In this act, he reserved the rights of his son; but, finding that no such reservation would be allowed, he signed a second and unconditional abdication on the 11th of April. The allies, by a treaty, gave him the small island of Elba for a residence, having erected it into a distinct sovereignty in his favour; at the same time assigning him an annual income of 5,000,000 francs (£200,000), and allowing him to retain his title of Emperor. They also settled 1,000,000 francs (£40,000) on the ex-Empress Josephine; and the Italian duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, on the Empress Maria-Louisa and her son. These arrangements having been made, Napoleon quitted Fontainebleau on the 20th of April, and passing through France with some difficulty, and in disguise, reached Frejus on the 28th, whence an English ship of war carried him to Elba. He arrived there on the 4th of May, the day after Louis XVIII. had made his entry into Paris.

339. The fall of Napoleon at once put an end to all the

warlike proceedings going on in his name in different parts of France, of Europe, and of the rest of the world. Unfortunately, the final news did not travel fast enough to prevent a bloody battle on the 10th of April between Wellington's army and that of Soult at Toulouse, in which the French were defeated, with great loss on both sides. Scarcely had the fruitless battle been fought, however, when the news of the abdication of Napoleon and the proclamation of Louis XVIII. arrived; the result of which was, that on the 18th of April, an arrangement was made, putting an end to the war both in Southern France and in Spain, and permitting both armies to rest from the work of mutual slaughter. The French soldiers, whether in Soult's army or in garrisons in Spain under Suchet, were recalled and disbanded; and the British army—'the old Peninsulars,' as they are fondly called by the few veterans of their number who still survive in our towns and villages—embarked in fragments at Bordeaux and other ports, some for their native land, and some for service in America. The Spanish and Portuguese troops which had served under Wellington returned home, to welcome back their respective sovereigns, now restored to their thrones. Wellington proceeded to Paris, to take part in the deliberations of the allies, and was received by them with all the honours due to his extraordinary services in their common cause. About the same time, all the towns and fortresses which the French were still defending on the other side of the Rhine, and in Holland—among which was Antwerp, bravely defended by the old republican Carnot, who had offered his services to Napoleon in his adversity—surrendered as a matter of course. In Italy, also, where the French army of the Viceroy Eugene had been contending against the Austrians, aided by Murat and his Neapolitans, and by some British auxiliary troops, the war necessarily came to a close. The French recrossed the Alps, Eugene abandoning all claim to his viceroyalty, and resolving to seek refuge in the dominions of the king of Bavaria, whose daughter he had married some years before; the Austrians once more took possession of all that had formerly belonged to them in

Northern Italy; the pope re-entered Rome (May 24); and Murat settled down in Naples as well as he could, though still dubious whether his recent services had sufficiently atoned for his former connection with Napoleon, in the eyes of the allies, to secure him a throne, which had been Napoleon's gift. In short, over the whole world, whether on sea or on land, wherever the news of the fall of the 'Corsican usurper' came, there the uplifted sword was arrested in its descent, the lighted match was drawn back as it was touching the cannon, and men, folding their arms after long fatigue, muttered to each other the strange word, 'Peace.'

340. The peace which had been established by the triumph of the allies and the fall of Paris in March 1814, was destined to last only eleven months (April 11, 1814—March 1, 1815). During these eleven months, however, many important arrangements were made, under the belief that it was to be final, and that the career of Napoleon was already at an end. These arrangements divide themselves into three classes—*first*, the arrangements made between the allied powers and Louis XVIII. as to the future limits of the French monarchy to which their efforts had restored him; *secondly*, the arrangements made between Louis XVIII. and his subjects relative to the future government of France within itself; and, *thirdly*, the arrangements made by the allied powers for the settlement of many questions relating to different parts of the continent, which the destruction of the Napoleonian Empire left pending.

341. The substance of the arrangements made between the allied powers and Louis XVIII., and confirmed by various treaties executed on the same day (May 30, 1814), was, that the limits of France should be reduced to what they were before the French Revolution, with the exception of a small increase of territory over what she had then possessed, occasioned by her retaining the counties of Avignon and Venaissin on the south-eastern, and some districts on the north-eastern or Rhine frontier—these having been among the first territorial acquisitions of the Revolution. With

these exceptions, all the additions that had been made to the French territory since 1789 were given up—namely, the whole of the Austrian Netherlands and of the German possessions on the left bank of the Rhine, incorporated with France in 1801; the Swiss districts of Porentruy, Geneva, and Chambery, and the county of Nice, incorporated in the same year; Piedmont and Liguria in Italy, incorporated in 1802–5 (§§ 254 and 259); the Ionian Isles, incorporated in 1807; various territories on the right bank of the Rhine, incorporated between 1807 and 1811; Holland, incorporated in 1810, after the quarrel of Napoleon with his brother Louis (§ 289); and Tuscany, Parma, parts of the Papal States, and other Italian districts, incorporated at various times during the few years immediately preceding. On the other hand, Great Britain agreed to restore to France all the colonies that she had wrested from her during the wars, with the exception of Tobago, St Lucia, and the Mauritius. In short, Louis XVIII. was, on the whole, treated handsomely; for he was permitted to take his place among European potentates as monarch of all that his unfortunate brother had possessed, and a little more.

342. The arrangements made between Louis XVIII. and his people were complicated, but, on the whole, amounted to this—that he assumed the throne of his forefathers, not as an absolute monarch ruling solely by hereditary right, but as a constitutional king, bound in the exercise of his power by certain laws and forms. Prior, indeed, to the arrival of Louis from England, the senate, when proclaiming him king, had taken the precaution (April 6, 1814) to promulgate a constitution, in which it was distinctly stated, that he was called to the throne, not on account of his hereditary claims, but by the popular will deciding what was at that crisis best for France. Louis, however, had taken care, before his entry into Paris, to annul this constitution (May 2), promising that he would himself give the nation a fundamental charter, defining their mutual rights. Although hardly liking this style of procedure, the people were obliged to submit; and on the 4th of June 1814 the charter was published. Its

provisions were, in some respects, liberal. It granted a complete amnesty for the past, and established the present owners of the old national lands in their possessions. It guaranteed liberty of conscience, the freedom of the press, trial by jury, and taxation only by parliamentary vote. It retained the Code Napoleon as the law of France; also the Legion of Honour, and the titles conferred by Napoleon. It vested the legislative power of the state in two chambers —a chamber of deputies; and a chamber of 135 peers. The peers were nominated by the king, and more than half of them were taken from among the existing senators of the late emperor. The deputies were all to be men paying 1000 francs (£40) a year, and were to be elected by those of the community who paid 300 francs (£12) a year in direct taxes—a regulation which reserved seats in the chamber for a very limited class, and reduced the number of those who possessed the franchise to about 80,000, in a total population of 30,000,000. This concentration of political rights in so small a number, together with a vague reservation in the charter of a right for the king to pass ordinances in his own name, when necessary, gave great dissatisfaction. Various other acts of Louis XVIII., suggested either by his own hereditary notions, or by the advice of bigoted legitimist counsellors who surrounded him—as, for example, his dating his reign from the year 1795, and his exchange of the national tricolor for white, as the Bourbon colour — tended to exasperate public feeling against him before he had been long on the throne. The consequence was, that after a month or two, the Restoration was regretted by all, except those who had directly benefited by it, including the old legitimists and their returned emigrant friends, and such of the Napoleonists as had taken posts under the new sovereign. The number of Bonapartists who had been thrown out of employment by the change, and by the contraction of the French territories which accompanied it, was greater than that of the legitimists whom it brought into office. Napoleon's soldiers, also, scattered through the villages and country hamlets of France, carried his image in their hearts, and knew nothing of this Louis

XVIII., whom the Parisians and the emperor of Russia had brought over from England to be their king.

343. The task of settling all those questions, territorial and other, which the fall of Napoleon left pending beyond the limits of France, was one of great difficulty in itself, and was rendered even more difficult by the conflicting interests of the deliberating powers. Conscious of the importance of the task, the allied powers were in no hurry to conclude it. Some matters of importance connected with it—as, for example, the transference of Norway from the crown of Denmark to that of Sweden—had already been so far settled by special treaties during the progress of the war in 1813 and 1814. During the stay also of the allied sovereigns in Paris (March 31 to June 16), they, and the generals and diplomatists who were with them, discussed many questions of European interest in the midst of the fêtes and religious ceremonies and reviews of troops which occupied the greater part of their time. It had been arranged, for example, that Britain should retain Malta and its dependencies; that Holland should form a European sovereignty, and be given to the Prince of Orange; that Switzerland should be restored to its position as an independent European state; that in lieu of the old German Empire, dissolved in 1806 (§ 265), and which it was deemed useless to restore, there should in future be a Germanic confederation associating the separate sovereign states into one European body; and that, with the exception of those parts of Italy which should be restored to Austria, the rest of that peninsula should be parcelled out into a number of distinct sovereignties. These arrangements, however, left a host of difficult questions still undecided; and, on the whole, it was agreed to refer the settlement of these questions to a grand congress of sovereigns and their plenipotentiaries, to be held at Vienna in the autumn. This resolution having been come to, the sovereigns postponed business, and gave themselves up to pleasure. Having exhausted the gaieties of Paris, they paid a visit to England (July 8), where they were received with enthusiasm by the prince-regent and by the people; and where, both in London and in other towns, their

presence was celebrated by processions and festivities. On this occasion, the old Prussian, Marshal Blucher, attracted much notice from his singular appearance; and among other honours conferred on him, was the somewhat inappropriate one of a doctor's degree from the university of Oxford. Nor, in the outburst of national rejoicing and gratitude, were our own British heroes forgotten. Wellington was raised to the dignity of a duke, and the House of Commons voted him £500,000; three of his subordinate generals—Beresford, Graham, and Hill—were raised to the peerage; and other Peninsular officers were rewarded in proportion. The brave soldiers who had fought under these officers, were either sent away on other service, or restored to their homes in England, Scotland, and Ireland, to 'fight their battles over again' to attentive listeners at their own firesides.

344. The great Congress of Vienna was opened on the 25th of September 1814. It was attended by the Emperor Alexander of Russia, the king of Prussia, the kings of Bavaria, Würtemberg, Denmark, and many of the smaller German princes, and by plenipotentiaries acting for Great Britain, Austria, France, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden. The five principal European powers—namely, Russia, Prussia, Great Britain, Austria, and France—exercised the greatest weight in the congress; but it was with difficulty that France obtained a place among them. Russia was naturally represented by her emperor, and Prussia by her king; the representative of Great Britain was first Lord Castlereagh, and afterwards the Duke of Wellington; Austria was represented by Metternich; and France by Talleyrand. On the whole, the Russian emperor was the chief man in the congress, and his will was most potent in influencing the decisions.

345. Many of these decisions were easy enough, consisting in little more than the confirmation of the arrangements already made at Paris, and the adoption of similar arrangements in other cases regarding which there was as little difference of opinion. Wherever, in fact, all that was necessary by way of an arrangement satisfactory to all parties concerned was merely the restoration of what

had existed prior to the conquests of the French Revolution, the work of the congress proceeded swiftly and harmoniously. Points of this nature were discussed in a friendly manner by the sovereigns and the diplomatists, conclusions easily come to, and these conclusions drawn up in regular written form. Many questions, however, were by no means of this nature. Such had been the changes in European society and in European opinion during the preceding twenty-five years, that a simple restoration of what had been in existence in 1789, was in many instances either utterly impracticable, or very undesirable. Above all, there were numerous difficulties connected with Italy, Germany, and the Polish parts of Europe. 1. *Italy.* With regard to this peninsula, the work of the congress was comparatively easy, in so far as the question of what should be restored to Austria was concerned; but, in connection with the other question, of how the remainder should be disposed of, there was a good deal of trouble. The Sardinian kingdom was, of course, to be restored; the pope was to get back his lost territories; Tuscany was once more to figure as an Italian state; and, beside the pope and Tuscany, in Central Italy, there were, as before, to be some petty sovereignties. But the territorial limits of these separate states required to be adjusted in detail, and this could only be done by repeated consultations and references to maps, surveys, and old treaties. Then, again, as regarded the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, there was a distinct difficulty. Naturally, what the allies would have preferred, would have been the simple restoration of the Bourbon Ferdinand to the position from which Napoleon had hurled him in 1806 (§ 263); but the recent services of Murat against his former master gave him a claim upon the allies, and it was debated whether it would not be both just and necessary to allow Murat to remain king of Naples, and to put off Ferdinand with the island of Sicily. 2. *Germany and the Polish parts of Europe.* The difficulties here were far greater than in the case of Italy. They grew out of the peculiar position in which the king of Saxony stood with respect to the allies. Of all Napoleon's adherents, Frederick Augustus, king of

Saxony, had been the most faithful to him. Nor was this wonderful. There was no man on whom Napoleon had showered so many favours. After the conquest of Prussia in 1806, he had raised him from the dignity of elector, which was all he then had, to that of king, stripping Prussia of valuable territories to enrich the new kingdom (§ 268). Nay more, when, in the following year, Napoleon, to gratify the Poles, severed from Prussia all those portions of old Poland which she had seized in the three partitions, and erected those into a sovereign European state, called the Duchy of Warsaw (§ 270), it was on his favourite, the king of Saxony, that he had conferred this new Polish sovereignty. The duchy was increased in extent by subsequent additions at the expense of Austria. Thus, the king of Saxony had, by the sole will of Napoleon, been raised high among the monarchs of Europe. He repaid the kindness shewn him by unabated zeal in his benefactor's cause; first as one of the members of the Napoleonian confederacy in Germany, and afterwards in the Russian and German wars, as a combatant on Napoleon's side. Taken prisoner by the allies after the great battle of Leipsic (§ 320), he had since then been detained in captivity in Prussia; and now, on the day of reckoning, he was to pay the penalty. It was proposed by Russia and Prussia to erase him from the list of European monarchs altogether, stripping him not only of the duchy of Warsaw, and of the other territories he had acquired since 1806, but also of his hereditary Saxon dominions. The Prussian king desired to obtain all, or nearly all Saxony, as an addition to his kingdom; while the Russian emperor had set his heart on adding the duchy of Warsaw to those extensive portions of the ancient Polish territories which had been incorporated with Russia in the three partitions of the preceding century. The two monarchs stood by each other in these demands, against which Britain, Austria, and France protested. To these three powers it seemed just enough that the Saxon king should lose the Polish duchy of Warsaw; but that Russia should obtain it, appeared to them a monstrous injustice. Britain and France, indeed,

as powers which had protested from the first against the obliteration of Poland from the map of Europe, were anxious that the present opportunity should be taken to do something towards the reparation of that wrong. Lord Castlereagh and Talleyrand, on the part of their respective nations, both urged the justice and expediency of restoring Poland as a distinct nation; and even Austria was prepared to give up those parts of Poland which had fallen to her share in the first and third partitions, if Russia and Prussia would be equally self-denying. These powers, however, would not yield a jot. The Emperor Alexander would have the duchy of Warsaw entirely to himself; the king of Prussia would have Saxony; and all that they would consent to was to cut out a little territory somewhere in Germany, to be given to the Saxon king by way of compensation.

346. Beset by such difficulties, the diplomatists at Vienna had continued their sittings throughout the months of October, November, and December 1814, and over January and February 1815, and were yet apparently no nearer the end of their work. The haughtiness of the Russian emperor, and the obstinacy with which he and the king of Prussia, as the crowned heads of the congress, persisted in carrying matters their own way, at length roused the other powers; and in February 1815, a secret treaty was concluded between Britain, France, and Austria, by which these powers bound themselves to resist Russia and Prussia, if necessary, by force of arms. The Russian emperor, on his side, had assembled his armies in Poland, to seize the disputed duchy. In short, the congress was on the point of being broken up, and the world was about to witness the edifying spectacle of a war among the peacemakers, when an event occurred which did more than thousands of deliberations would have done to bring about a union. At a ball at Vienna, on the 7th of March, where, amid music, and under brilliant lights, royalty and diplomacy were dancing with wit and beauty, a whisper was conveyed to Metternich—'Napoleon has escaped from Elba.' It was as if a shell had fallen in the midst of the gay assembly. Kings, generals, and

diplomatists dispersed, with two pressing tasks before them—first, to prepare once more for a struggle with the lion who had broken loose; and, secondly, to wind up the proceedings of the congress as fast as possible, so as to be free for the business of war.

347. The proceedings of the congress *were* wound up; though it was not till the 9th of June 1815 that the treaty recapitulating all the special arrangements that had been agreed upon was finally signed by the representatives of the eight powers concerned—Russia, Prussia, Austria, France, Britain, Spain, Sweden, and Portugal. The following is a summary of the main provisions of this momentous settlement: I. GERMANY.—Germany, as a whole, was in future to consist of thirty-nine distinct sovereign states, united together for general political purposes into one confederation—namely, the empire of Austria; the kingdoms of Prussia, Bavaria, Hanover, Saxony, and Würtemberg; the electorate of Hesse-Cassel; the grand-duchies of Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Oldenburg, and Saxe-Weimar; the duchies of Anhalt-Bernburg, Anhalt-Köthen, Anhalt-Dessau, Brunswick, Holstein, Lauenburg, Luxemburg, Nassau, Saxe-Altenburg, Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Saxe-Meiningen; the landgraviate of Hesse-Homburg; the principalities of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Liechtenstein, Lippe-Detmold, Reuss (2), Schwarzburg (2), Schaumburg-Lippe, and Waldeck; and the free cities or republics of Bremen, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Hamburg, and Lubeck. Some of these states, it will be observed, had been promoted in point of dignity: thus, Hanover, from being an electorate—a dignity now obsolete on account of the dissolution of the German Empire—was raised to the rank of a kingdom; while the two Mecklenburgs, Oldenburg, and Saxe-Weimar, formerly only duchies, were made grand-duchies. There were considerable changes also in the territorial limits of the various states, occasioned partly by mutual cessions and restorations, but chiefly by the dissolution of the Napoleonian kingdom of Westphalia and the dismemberment of Saxony. Austria recovered the Tyrol, Carniola,

Carinthia, &c., as well as her parts of the duchy of Warsaw (2800 square miles); the kingdom of Westphalia was re-distributed among the states out of whose territories it had been originally formed—chiefly Hesse-Cassel, Hanover, Prussia, and Brunswick. Saxony was also stripped of its acquisitions, and about a third part of the hereditary kingdom was confiscated, and divided between Prussia and Hanover—Prussia receiving the larger and richer portion, with a population of upwards of 1,000,000 of souls; and the congress thought the king of Saxony handsomely treated when they allowed him to retain his capital and the remaining two-thirds of his kingdom. Prussia also received back a slice of the duchy of Warsaw (13,500 square miles). Altogether, Prussia was the power which reaped the greatest advantages from the treaty, so far as Germany was concerned; and from that date Prussia has been a rival with Austria for the preponderance in the German confederacy. The presidency of the confederacy, however—that is, the right of presiding, and giving the casting-vote in general diets held to discuss affairs of common interest to all the states—was vested by the treaty in Austria. Of these general diets there were to be two kinds—the ordinary diet, and the plenum or occasional diet, convened only for the discussion of measures affecting the constitution of the confederacy. Both were to meet in the free city of Frankfort-on-the-Main. The ordinary diet was to consist of seventeen votes—Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Hanover, Saxony, Würtemberg, and the five next states in importance, having each one vote, while the remaining twenty-eight were to have but six votes among them. In the plenum, on the other hand, there were to be seventy votes—Austria, Prussia, and the six next states having four votes each, while the remaining states were to have three, or two votes, or only one, according to their importance. In matters special to the various states, however, each state was to be perfectly independent.

II. ITALY.—1. *Austrian Italy* (population, 5,000,000). The territories in Italy restored by the congress to Austria, under the name of 'the Kingdom of Lombardy and Venice,' included the Venetian lands and islands, and all

the lands of the old duchies of Milan, Mantua, Verona, &c., north of the Po, as far as the tributary of that river called the Adige. We may here mention that, at the same time, Austria recovered the kingdom of Dalmatia and her other possessions on the east side of the Adriatic, and obtained the new acquisition of Ragusa. 2. *The Kingdom of Sardinia, or Piedmont* (population, 4,500,000). By the wars of the Directory and those of Napoleon, the powerful kingdom of Sardinia had been utterly broken up, and the ruling house driven into exile. It was now restored in its full dimensions, as including, besides the island of Sardinia, all that part of Northern Italy bounded by France on the west, the Swiss Alps on the north, and Austrian Italy on the east; corresponding with the old duchy of Savoy, the principality of Piedmont, and the county of Nice. To these possessions were added the territories of the ancient independent republic of Genoa now detached from France, and erected into a duchy—an arbitrary arrangement, which was strenuously resisted by the Genoese, who wished again to be independent, and disliked the notion of being handed over to the rule of Sardinia. 3. *The Grand-duchy of Tuscany* (population, 1,300,000). After various changes, this Italian state had in 1808 (§ 287) been incorporated with France, under the administration of Eliza Baciocchi, the sister of Napoleon, as grand-duchess, the ruling house being set aside. This house was now restored, and some new districts of Central Italy, as well as the island of Elba, were added to the Tuscan dominions. 4. *The Papal States* (population, 2,700,000). To these states were restored all the districts which Napoleon had appropriated. 5. *The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies* (population, 7,500,000). The difficulties which had been felt with respect to the future arrangement of this part of Italy, were removed by intelligence which reached the congress that Murat, alarmed at the delay in determining his claims, had intrigued with Napoleon before his escape from Elba, and had now openly joined him. It was declared, therefore, that Murat had forfeited all his rights, and that the kingdom of Naples, as well as Sicily, should be restored to the Bourbon

Ferdinand, without reservation. 6. What remained of Italy, after the foregoing arrangements—namely, a portion of territory lying between Sardinia and Austrian Italy, on the one hand, and Tuscany and the Papal States, on the other—was divided into three small states. The *Duchy of Parma* (population, 450,000, including Placentia and Guastalla) was to belong to Maria-Louisa, the wife of Napoleon, during her lifetime; and after her death, to return to the old ducal family of the Bourbon line. Meanwhile, this family was to be provided for by the *Duchy of Lucca* (population, 150,000), which, however, was to be incorporated with Tuscany as soon as the death of Maria-Louisa left Parma vacant. Finally, the old *Duchy of Modena* (population, 350,000) was restored to its former possessors of the House of Esté; while the little *Republic of San Marino* (population, 7000), which had remained intact through all the vicissitudes of Napoleon's rule in Italy, was guaranteed its independence. III. NEW AND RESTORED EUROPEAN STATES.—1. *Switzerland.* This state was reconstituted on its old footing as an independent republic of federated cantons—the number of cantons, however, being increased to twenty-two by the addition of the territory of Valais, the town and district of Geneva, and the principality of Neuchatel, as new cantons, to the nineteen already existing. The perpetual neutrality of the Swiss republic was guaranteed. 2. *The Ionian Islands.* The seven islands of Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, Santa Maura, Ithaca, Paxo, and Cerigo, situated on the western coast of the ancient Greek countries, and inhabited by a population chiefly of Greek extraction, had passed through various changes of rule during the revolutionary and Napoleonian wars—at first possessed by the Venetians and the Turks, then by the French, then reconquered by the Turks and the Russians, and, finally, contended for by Britain and France. They were now formed into a separate republic (population, 200,000), with Corfu for a capital, under the protection of Great Britain, as represented by a resident high-commissioner. 3. *The Kingdom of the Netherlands.* The formation of this new European state was one of the most important acts

of the congress. It being thought desirable to establish a considerable state which should be a barrier between France and Germany on the Rhine frontier, and include those Belgian districts on the left bank of that river for which France had so strenuously contended as hers by geographical right, but which Louis XVIII. had been required to yield; this was accomplished by incorporating Belgium with Holland, and calling the Prince of Orange-Nassau, already invested with the sovereignty of Holland, to the joint-throne, with the title of 'King of the Netherlands.' The population of this new kingdom, including the grand-duchy of Luxemburg, which belonged to the king, though politically a part of Germany, and including also the old Dutch colonies, now restored by Britain—with the exception of the Cape of Good Hope, Essequibo, Berbice, and Demerara, which Britain retained—amounted to about 7,000,000; and great hopes were entertained of its future prosperity, notwithstanding that the Belgians resented their union with the Dutch. 4. *The new Kingdom of Poland.* In order to afford a partial gratification to those who called for the restoration of Poland to the map of Europe, and at the same time to satisfy the ambition of the Russian emperor, Alexander, the congress erected the whole of the duchy of Warsaw, with the exception of the portions of it given to Austria and Prussia, and a little district lying round and including the city of Cracow, into a new European state, to be called 'the Kingdom of Poland,' and to be possessed for ever by the emperors of Russia as an appendage of their empire, though politically distinct from it. The extent of this new kingdom was 46,000 square miles, and its population between 3,000,000 and 4,000,000—about one-sixth of the territory and population of the first Poland, prior to the three partitions. Great disappointment was felt by the friends of Poland at so paltry an instalment of justice to the injured nation; but Alexander promised to govern his new kingdom in so paternal a manner, that the Poles would be more than satisfied in the end. 5. *The Republic of Cracow.* By a kind of freak on the part of the congress, the city of Cracow and its neighbourhood, with a population

of about 60,000, was exempted from the fate of the rest of the duchy of Warsaw, and instead of being given either to Russia, Prussia, or Austria, was erected into a free and separate republic, under the common guarantee of these three powers.

348. Such were the famous arrangements of the Congress of Vienna. Some other points were discussed at the congress; and, in particular, the question of the slave-trade, which was introduced by Great Britain. At the earnest desire of this power, the others pledged themselves to the principle of the abolition of the traffic in slaves, and came under certain obligations, more or less conditional, to suppress it within their respective dominions. All these decisions, however, though registered on paper, depended for their execution on the issue of the new struggle against Napoleon.

349. *The Hundred Days.*—Napoleon escaped from Elba on the 26th of February 1815, with a few small vessels carrying about 1000 men, and landed on the 1st of March at the town of Cannes, on the southern coast of France. He had already corresponded with the discontented Bonapartists of France, who, with the equally discontented republicans, had organised a conspiracy, which was to take effect when he landed. At Grenoble, the garrison joined him with shouts of *Vive l'Empereur;* at the same place, Colonel Labedoyère came over to him with his regiment. At Paris, meanwhile, all was in confusion. Proclamations were issued, and officials sent hither and thither, but the old king and his brother knew not on whom to rely. Ney was intrusted with an army sent to oppose his former master. He set out, promising to bring back Napoleon in an iron cage. Napoleon, meanwhile, had reached Lyon, whence, at the head of increased forces, he issued a series of decrees. Everywhere the soldiers of the king declared that they would not fight against the emperor. Accordingly, Ney himself declared for Napoleon, and joined him with his whole army. With the exception of Marshal Macdonald, Marshal Marmont, and one or two more, there were no men of mark who really stood by the king and his family. Thus deserted, they

had no alternative but flight. On the 19th, when Napoleon was already close upon Paris, they escaped to Lille, whence they proceeded to Ghent; and on the following day, Napoleon was once more in the Tuileries, surrounded by his marshals, generals, ministers, and diplomatists, who clung about him, and carried him in their arms, and sobbed and shed tears for joy, and knew no bounds to their enthusiasm. All the ladies of the court were once more there; but there was no empress. Maria-Louisa and her son had taken refuge, after the fall of Paris in the previous year, with her father, the emperor of Austria; and Josephine had not lived to witness the restoration of the man she loved so well, having died during the first month of his exile in Elba.

350. The first rejoicings occasioned by the emperor's return being over, he applied himself with all his energy to the business that lay before him. As he had owed his restoration to a combination of the Bonapartists or imperialists with the numerous relics of the old revolutionary, or Jacobin, or republican party, which still survived in France, he was obliged to conciliate this party in the new system of his empire, take their chiefs into his counsels, and accept popular and constitutional forms which he had formerly spurned, and even now did not like. Fouché, Carnot, Cambacérès, Benjamin Constant, and his own brother Lucien, whose republican opinions had hitherto been a barrier to their friendship, but who now joined him with a desire to assist him in re-establishing his power on a new footing, were the ministers on whom he chiefly relied. A new constitution having been prepared by them, under the title of 'An Act Additional to the Constitutions of the Empire,' was solemnly proclaimed and sworn to in the presence of a vast assembly in the Champ de Mai (June 1). According to this constitution, the legislature was to be vested in a hereditary chamber of peers, chosen by the emperor, and a chamber of deputies, elected by popular constituencies every five years, and having the sole power of taxation; ministers were to be responsible; and, in other respects, the imperial authority was to be limited by checks. This

constitution, however, did not satisfy the more democratic portion of the people; and no sooner had the two chambers met (June 4), than intrigues were begun hostile to Napoleon. Fouché was detected corresponding with Metternich, and his life was spared only for fear of rousing his Jacobin adherents.

351. Of far greater importance than these political arrangements, in the eyes of Napoleon, were his military preparations. Once victorious in the field, he would be able to make his own terms with France and its factions. He well knew the enormous odds against which he had to contend. When the news of his escape from Elba reached Vienna, the allied powers there assembled had at once issued a manifesto, declaring him an outlaw of Europe, who had forfeited all rights to clemency. Couriers flew from city to city, and from camp to camp; and within a few weeks, the armed hosts of Russia, Prussia, Austria, Germany, the Netherlands, and Britain, to the number of 1,300,000 men in all, were once more converging from a hundred points to conclude the work which they had fondly fancied they had already achieved. Of these, the nearest to the scene of operations were three armies—one called the *Army of the Netherlands*, consisting of about 150,000 British, Belgian, Dutch, and Hanoverian and other German troops, under the Duke of Wellington, a considerable portion of them being raw levies hastily raised, though some of the veteran peninsular regiments were included; a second, the *Army of the Lower Rhine*, consisting of about 150,000 Prussians, under Blucher; and the third, the *Army of the Upper Rhine*, consisting of about 260,000 Germans, chiefly Austrians and Bavarians, under Schwartzenberg. The Russian army, being more distant, could only come up with the other reserves. Against this huge force Napoleon could only command about 220,000 men, consisting partly of the troops he found on entering France, partly of disbanded veterans called again to his standard. Some of these he had to leave in La Vendée and other districts where royalist disaffection had broken out, or was feared. Nor could he now, as formerly, calculate on help beyond the limits of

France. Murat, indeed, fearful of losing his throne, had in a rash moment attempted to rouse Italy, and so co-operate with his old chief; but having been defeated by an Austrian army on the Po (April 11), he had found himself deserted, and escaped to France. Here Napoleon, remembering his frequent defections, had received him coldly; while the Congress of Vienna, as we have seen, had declared his throne to be forfeited, and given it back to the Bourbons.

352. It was on the 15th of June 1815 that the campaign—the most memorable, perhaps, in the annals of the world—was opened by Napoleon. He advanced with 125,000 men, commanded, under him, by Marshals Ney, Soult, and Grouchy, into Belgium, to attack, according to a preconcerted plan, Wellington and Blucher, who were already there together—Wellington with 80,000 of his whole army, and Blucher with 110,000. Ney, with 46,000 men, was sent to take possession of Quatre Bras, an important station, where four roads cross each other, and which was held by a portion of the British troops; while Napoleon himself, with 72,000, attacked Blucher with 80,000, at Ligny. At Ligny (June 16), Blucher was routed with immense loss, and driven in confusion from the field, Blucher himself making a narrow escape. The British, meanwhile, on the same day (June 16), stood their ground at Quatre Bras. Wellington, however, hearing of Blucher's defeat, fell back with his whole army upon Waterloo on the morning of the 17th; and here Napoleon, after detaching 30,000 men under Grouchy, to act against the retreating Prussians, came up to give him battle. The battle was fought on the 18th of June, between 70,000 under Wellington, of whom only 30,000 were British, and 75,000 under Napoleon. From eleven in the morning till the evening, the British, with a portion of their allies, sustained the repeated attacks of the French cavalry and infantry without being broken, though part of the army fled. Such firmness astonished and perplexed Napoleon; and at length it became evident that the fate of the day might depend on which of the relieving armies came up first—Grouchy with the French reserve, or

Blucher with the Prussians. Late in the afternoon, the advanced portions of an army came up: it was the Prussians. Napoleon now made one last effort to break the British line, and ordered up his favourite Guards to the charge. In vain! Back recoiled the Guards before the tremendous fire of the British; and Wellington, seeing that the Prussians had now come up in sufficient strength, gave the order to charge with the whole line. On galloped the British horse; on, on, with fixed bayonets tramped the British infantry, their pent-up rage finding vent in this last movement; meanwhile, from the rear, 100 Prussian cannon opened fire upon the French. Utterly broken by the attack, the French fled in a mass, the British cavalry mingling with them in the pursuit. 'They are mixed together: all is lost!' said Napoleon to General Bertrand, and galloped off the field. Wellington then resigned to the Prussians the task of pursuing the fugitives. All night the chase continued, and with such effect, that the total loss of the French in the battle, or in consequence of it, amounted to 40,000 men. Wellington's army lost 15,000 in killed and wounded; the Prussians, 7000.

353. Such was the great battle of Waterloo; and it entirely ruined Napoleon. Grouchy, indeed, had gained a battle over the Prussians at Wavre, and his army, united with the wreck of that of Waterloo, still formed a force of some 60,000 or 70,000 men. But the nation was in utter despair, and would hear of no more efforts. When Napoleon reached Paris on the 21st, the chambers declared themselves permanent, and called on him to abdicate. Carnot, and his brother Lucien, urged him to seize the dictatorship, and resort to any extremities to save Paris from the allies. He refused to do this, however, saying it would be the signal for a civil war; and, the chambers not allowing him any other alternative, he abdicated in favour of his son, as Napoleon II. (June 22). A provisional government was then formed, consisting of Fouché, Carnot, and three others; and, after six days, Napoleon, who knew that if he fell into Blucher's hands he would be shot, set out for Rochefort (June 29) with a view of escaping to America. He reached Rochefort on the 3d of

July, but, finding the coast too strictly blockaded by British cruisers to give him a chance of escape, he was obliged to surrender to Captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon* (July 14). On board of this vessel he was carried to England, where, however, he was not permitted to land; but, having been transferred to another ship-of-war, was immediately, by the orders of the British government, conveyed to the little island of St Helena. Here he arrived on the 16th of October; and here, after five years and a half of captivity, he died on the 5th of May 1821.

354. Once more France was filled with foreign troops of all nations, and Paris occupied as a conquered city. There was real danger this time that France might be dismembered, and her inhabitants made to pay dearly for the trouble they had occasioned to Europe by their second adhesion to Napoleon. The Prussians, in particular, were anxious for some such revenge, and the troops of Blucher committed many acts of outrage and pillage on Paris and its neighbourhood. At length, however, at the instance of Great Britain and Russia, a treaty was concluded (November 20, 1815), by which the allies agreed to evacuate France, and re-establish Louis XVIII. on the throne, on condition that the French nation should pay about £60,000,000 by way of fine, to be applied partly in discharging the expenses of the war, partly in indemnifying some of the powers for losses they had sustained. Some fortresses were also given up or destroyed, and it was agreed that an army of the allies should for a time garrison the eastern frontier. Many curiosities and works of art, which had been accumulated in Paris by the spoil of former wars, were at the same time restored to their original owners. Finally, in order to secure the permanence of that peace which had now, to all appearance, been perfectly established in Europe, the emperors of Russia and Austria, and the king of Prussia, formed what was called a 'Holy Alliance' (September 26, 1815); that is, an alliance by which they pledged themselves to regulate their future conduct by the principles of Christianity, to rule as men responsible to Heaven, and to assist each other as brothers in any new European emergency that might

arise. All the powers eventually joined this alliance, except Great Britain, which was precluded from doing so by the constitutional nature of her government, and the consequent limitation of the individual power of the sovereign in matters of this kind. These arrangements having been made, the allied chiefs and armies left France, and returned to their respective countries; and the Treaty of Vienna, as guarded by the Holy Alliance, became the law of Europe.

355. THE RESTORATION.—From the time of the second restoration of Louis XVIII., which may date either from his return to Paris after the events of the Hundred Days (July 8, 1815), or from the treaty with the allies which guaranteed him, for the second time, in the possession of his throne (November 20, 1815), the history of France resembles a river, which, after having inundated the surrounding plains, has once more been confined within its own comparatively narrow channel, there to flow in a quiet and ordinary manner.

356. The events of the reign of Louis XVIII., after he and his subjects were finally left alone with each other (November 20, 1815—September 1824), may be related very briefly. One of the first acts of the restored government was to punish those who had been most notorious for their treachery to the Bourbons during the Hundred Days. Marshal Ney and Colonel Labedoyère were tried and shot (December 7, 1815); another functionary, Lavalette, avoided the same fate by escaping from prison; and about sixty others, chiefly of the number of the 'relapsed regicides,' were banished from France. This was all the immediate vengeance exacted; and Louis, desiring to be reconciled to his people, proceeded to govern them in accordance with the constitutional charter which he had granted on his first restoration. As, however, the new chamber of deputies, elected in the first moment of reaction against the fallen Bonapartists, consisted for the most part of vehement ultra-royalists, Louis was compelled to adopt measures of a more despotic character than accorded with his own sense of what was prudent. For about two

years, the Bonapartists, and the republicans and constitutional liberals of France, found themselves under a cloud; and in La Vendée, and other royalist districts of France, the exultation of the more fanatical Catholics and royalists in the restoration of the old ruling family, manifested itself in acts of violence and persecution, from which the Protestants and others suffered. At length, the chamber became so unpopular, that the king was obliged to dismiss it (1818), and a new chamber was elected, in which the constitutionalists had the majority. With this chamber, and a liberal ministry, at the head of which was Count Decazes, Louis for a time conducted his government in a moderate manner, which gave satisfaction to the bulk of the nation. Still, there was a dangerous revolutionary spirit in France; and great alarm was excited at the court by the assassination (February 13, 1820) of the king's nephew, the Duke de Berri, son of the Duke d'Artois. It was proved that the assassin, Louvel, was a revolutionist, and that the crime proceeded from an intense hatred to the Bourbons. Not long after this, the king dismissed the liberal ministry, and a new ministry, with a royalist named Villele at the head of it, came into office. The acts of this Villele administration were all directed to the increase of the royal authority, and to the diminution of the popular power. A censorship of newspapers was established; the law of election was altered, so as to restrict the suffrage as much as possible; and other measures of a retrograde character were passed. The last years of the reign of Louis, accordingly, were spent in violent antagonism between the royalists or legitimists and the constitutionalists. The charter was not formally violated by the government, but they acted against its spirit. The death of Napoleon at St Helena (May 5, 1821), by relieving the Bourbons of all fear that he might escape from captivity and reappear in France, probably contributed to the increasing despotism of their rule. Louis XVIII. died on the 16th of September 1824, in the seventieth year of his age. As he had no children, he was succeeded by his brother, the Duke d'Artois, under the title of Charles X.

357. The reign of Charles X. (1824–1830), was a continued advance in the direction of absolute power. Untaught by the misfortunes that had befallen his family, and less able and prudent than his brother, he proceeded from one unpopular act to another; till at length, having placed the Prince de Polignac, a man generally detested, at the head of the administration, he consummated his ruin by adopting a measure recommended to him by that minister. This was the publication (July 26, 1830) of six 'ordonnances,' or royal decrees, by which the king, of his own authority, abolished liberty of the press, changed the constitution of the chamber of deputies, and in other respects cancelled some of the fundamental provisions of the charter. The madness of such an act was soon seen. The people of Paris rose as if by explosion; and after three days of fighting between them and the king's troops, in the course of which several regiments went over to the insurgents, the king and the royal family were driven from the city, a provisional government was established, consisting of men of liberal opinions, and the command of the national guard was intrusted to the Marquis de Lafayette, now a veteran, but still true to the principles of which he had been so conspicuous an advocate in the first revolution.

358. Considerable discussion then followed, both among the leading men and in the popular clubs, as to the use to be made of the victory so rapidly accomplished. As to the abolition of legitimist rule—that is, of the rule of the Bourbon main line—all were agreed; and Charles was obliged (August 2) to sign an act of abdication, and to retire to Great Britain, where he again received an asylum in Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh. Respecting the substitute to be adopted, however, there were differences of opinion. There were, in the first place, in Paris and throughout France, a number of *Bonapartists*. The lawful heir to whatever claims the Bonaparte family possessed to the throne of France, was the ex-king of Rome, then a youth of nineteen years of age, and living at the court of his grandfather, the emperor of Austria, under the title of the Duke of Reichstadt. This prince being distant from

the spot, however, and also personally unknown, and those of the Bonaparte family who might have acted for him—including his uncles Joseph, Lucien, Louis, and Jerome—being scattered in exile over Europe and America, no effort was made in his behalf. It was very different with the *republicans*. They were a numerous body, more especially in the large towns. They had able and powerful leaders, among whom were many journalists of Paris—such as Armand Carrel—and not a few military officers of distinction. These men, with the Parisian populace at their back, earnestly endeavoured to turn the opportunity to account, so as to abolish royalty in France in all its shapes, rid the country both of Bourbons and Bonapartes, and return to the pure republicanism of the days of the National Convention. As it was, however, their efforts were defeated by a new party which sprang into existence on the occasion. The notion of this party was, that all necessary ends would be attained by setting aside the main branch of the Bourbons, and raising to the throne a younger branch, in the person of the Duke of Orleans—the son of Philip Egalité, Duke of Orleans, guillotined in 1793 (§ 216), and of whose own services, under Dumourier, when he was only Duke de Chartres, mention has already been made (§ 209). This prince, after a long exile in various countries, during which he had earned his livelihood for some time as a teacher of mathematics, had returned to France with the rest of his family at the restoration. Inheriting some of the political opinions of his father, and being himself of a crafty and ambitious disposition, he had studiously kept aloof from the unpopular government of the ruling Bourbons, and had thus acquired the confidence of many who were enemies to legitimacy. A party accordingly sprang up, under the name of *Orleanists*, who urged that France, in choosing him, would find exactly the kind of king that was needed—one whose connections gave him a precedence over other Frenchmen, and who would yet govern constitutionally as a citizen-king. Among the leaders of this party were Lafitte, a rich and influential banker of Paris, and Guizot, an able lawyer, of a Protestant family, already distinguished as a

journalist. The commercial classes, who feared republicanism, eagerly adopted the plan of an Orleanist dynasty; and, accordingly—though not without indignation on the part of the republicans and their leaders—the Duke of Orleans was called to the throne, under the title of 'Louis-Philippe, King of the French' (August 9, 1830). The charter, meanwhile, had been thoroughly revised, so as to restrict the power of the new king within definite limits. Such was the result of the French Revolution of 1830, called also 'the Revolution of July,' or the 'Revolution of the Three Days.'

359. Louis-Philippe was fifty-seven years of age, and already the father of a large family, when he became king of the French. His reign lasted eighteen years (1830–1848), and formed a not unimportant period in the history of France. With regard to foreign nations, it was his policy, as much as possible, to avoid war; and so firmly did he adhere to this policy, that he obtained the jocular name of the 'Napoleon of Peace.' The only exception of any consequence was a war carried on for the subjugation of Algiers. This war had been begun, however, in the reign of Charles X., when, in order to punish the dey of Algiers for an insult offered to the French consul, an expedition had been sent out under the command of General Bourmont. The expedition having been successful, the dey had abdicated, and fled to Europe, and the French had seized on the town and its neighbourhood (June 1830). The Arabs, the Kabyles or Berbers, and other Mohammedan races inhabiting this part of Africa, resisted the settlement of the French; and a war was begun against them, which led to a more general war against the emperor of Morocco, their protector. In order to carry on this war, which was both difficult and desultory, fresh troops were continually being sent out to Africa by the government of Louis-Philippe; and Algiers became a training-school in which, amid the general peace of Europe, the young soldiers of France were taught active service. In this school, and in continual skirmishes against Arab chiefs, of whom the most obstinate was one named Abd-el-Kader, a number of young generals were

trained up, replacing those generals of the empire who were gradually dying out. Among the names of these Algerian generals may be mentioned Cavaignac, Lamoriciere, Bugeaud, St Arnaud, Canrobert, and Pelissier. It was not till towards the end of Louis-Philippe's reign, however, that these officers and their troops succeeded in establishing the colony against the opposition of the natives; and, even after the conclusion of his reign, Abd-el-Kader continued to harass the colonists. Simultaneously with the colonisation of 'Algeria,' the French established a colony on the Gold Coast of Africa; they also settled in the Marquesas, and took the South Sea island of Otaheite under their protection.

360. The internal history of France, during the reign of Louis-Philippe, consisted in little else than the mutual conflicts in the chambers, and, through the press, of the various political parties into which the community was divided; while the community as a whole enjoyed, notwithstanding these conflicts, the commercial and other advantages natural to a state of peace. The *Orleanists*, or adherents of the existing dynasty, were chiefly the commercial and trading classes of large towns, called in France the *bourgeoisie:* they were divided, however, into several bodies, of which the more important were two—a more moderate or conservative party, led by Guizot, and distinguished by their attachment to the alliance with England; and a party more innovative in their opinions, and more disposed to a course of action calculated to increase the power of the French nation in European affairs, led by M. Thiers. The *republicans*, as before, were a strong and numerous party, comprehending the populace of Paris and many other towns, and led by able journalists, and members of the parliamentary body. There were still, also, a number of *legitimists*—chiefly among the higher classes and the Catholic clergy—who hated the Orleans dynasty, and accounted its acceptance of the throne as a treason to the main branch of the Bourbons, the rights of which were, in their opinion, inalienable, and vested, after the death of the exiled Charles X., in his grandson, the son of the Duke de Berri.

Nor were the *Bonapartists* extinct. The Duke of Reichstadt, indeed, whom they fondly called 'Napoleon II.,' died in his Austrian grandfather's palace of Schönbrunn, in 1832; but other members of the imperial family were alive, and among these, Joseph and Louis, the two brothers of the emperor, on whom, in case of the failure of direct heirs, the senatus-consultum of 1804 had conferred the succession. Finally, distinct from all these parties, and not yet recognised as a political party at all, though including many of the extreme republicans, was a new body or sect, called the *socialists;* consisting of men of different denominations, all agreeing in the general opinion, that mere political changes were of little consequence, and that what was wanted was a revolution in the entire system of society itself, altering the relations of the various classes to each other, and more especially the relations of the labouring-classes to the rich. These socialists were, at first, only a theoretical sect, the disciples of two men who, with many differences in their views, and quite independently of each other, had published speculations respecting the constitution of society—St Simon (1760–1825) and Charles Fourier, originally a merchant of Besançon (1768–1835). The doctrines of these men, however, were gradually disseminated by others who gave them a political bearing, and were greedily imbibed by the labouring-classes, who blended them with republicanism.

361. Resting on a population composed of so many discordant elements, the government of Louis-Philippe was by no means secure. As early as the year 1832, an attempt was made by the legitimists to excite an insurrection against it—the chief agent in this attempt being the widowed Duchess de Berri, who had landed on the western coast, with a view to rouse the peasantry of La Vendée, still the most royalist part of France, in behalf of her son. This attempt was suppressed; and during the rest of his reign Louis-Philippe was tolerably safe from the legitimists. The opposition of the republicans to his rule, however, was far more formidable. After he had been on the throne a year or two, it became evident that he had ceased to aim at the conciliation of this party;

and they, in turn, set themselves in a body against him. Some attempts to assassinate him were even made by fanatical and desperate men of this party, the most memorable of which was that of Fieschi and his associates in 1835. While guarding himself against the republicans, Louis-Philippe looked with comparative indifference on two attempts of a Bonapartist character which were made against his rule—attempts which seemed ridiculous at the time, but which circumstances have since made memorable. The author of both these attempts was Prince Louis-Napoleon, the only surviving son of Louis, ex-king of Holland, the third brother of the emperor. In none of the numerous members of the Bonaparte family was the sense of the lost honours of the family, and the determination, if possible, to regain them, so strong as in this nephew of the great emperor, who was now, by the death of the Duke of Reichstadt, the nearest of all the younger Bonapartes to the succession, as determined by the Senatus-consultum of 1804. After the ruin of the family in 1815, he had been brought up in a retired manner in Switzerland and Italy; and the world had heard but little of him, when, in 1836, being then twenty-eight years of age, he ventured to cross the French frontier from Baden, and present himself, with a few companions, to the garrison of Strasburg, calling on the soldiers to join him in overthrowing Louis-Philippe and re-establishing the empire. The wild attempt completely failed; and the prince was arrested and sent to Paris, whence he was immediately conveyed to America. He returned from America after a month or two, and took up his residence in London. So far was he from being disconcerted by the failure of his first attempt, that in August 1840, he made a second of the same kind, by landing, with some companions, at Boulogne, and trying to rouse the inhabitants of that town against the existing government. Again the attempt produced nothing but laughter; but this time the government deemed it prudent to detain Louis-Napoleon, and he was, accordingly, confined in the fortress of Ham, from which he did not make his escape till 1846. Yet, at the very time when this attempt was made, which seemed

both to the French government and to Europe at large to be of so little real importance, an incident occurred which proved that enthusiasm for the name of Napoleon was still the prevailing sentiment in the French mind. The great emperor had been dead nearly twenty years, and his ashes still rested in the grave in which they had been buried in St Helena. But in his will he had expressed a wish that 'his body might repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of that French people whom he had loved so well.' These words were treasured up and often repeated in France; and in 1840, when M. Thiers was minister, the government of Louis-Philippe, in order to gratify the national wish, asked and obtained leave from the British government to remove the emperor's remains to Paris. A French ship, commanded by Prince de Joinville, the youngest son of Louis-Philippe, was sent to St Helena for the purpose; the body was disinterred and conveyed to Paris (December 1840), where it now lies in a splendid tomb under the dome of the Church of the Invalides.

362. Altogether, the dynasty of Louis-Philippe was in a very precarious condition. The accidental death of his eldest son, the Duke of Orleans, by being thrown out of a carriage, lessened even such chances as there were of its continuance. The general impression was, that so long as the king himself lived there would be no attempt at revolution; but that his grandson, the young Count of Paris, would hardly be allowed to inherit the throne in peace. In these circumstances, Louis-Philippe acted like a man whose chief object it was to provide for his family before he died. Alienating the more extreme portion of his own Orleanist supporters, he attached himself more and more closely to the conservative party, and to Guizot as their head; and, with Guizot as his prime-minister, he pursued a policy which made him unpopular in France, and lost him the respect of Great Britain. Instances of corruption among officials holding high places under government came to light, and caused great scandal against the king and his minister. But what roused the greatest amount of indignation against them throughout Europe, was the so-called intrigue of the Spanish marriages

—that is, a scheme set on foot by Louis-Philippe, and prosecuted by him with great cunning and perseverance, for the marriage of the queen of Spain with her own cousin, simultaneously with the marriage of his son, the Duke de Montpensier, with her sister, the heiress-presumptive to the Spanish throne. There were circumstances connected with these marriages which made them offensive on private grounds; but the chief ground on which the British and other governments resented them, was that, as they might lead to a French dynasty in Spain, they were contrary to the spirit of the Treaty of Utrecht (§ 104). In short, in the year 1847, Louis-Philippe's government was detested in France by all, except a portion of the middle classes; and he, and his minister Guizot, had lost the respect with which they had till then been regarded in Britain.

363. GREAT BRITAIN.—At the time of the outbreak of the French Revolution (1789), George III. was fifty-one years of age, and had been twenty-nine years on the throne (§ 149). By his wife, Charlotte, daughter of the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, whom he married in 1761, he had a large family of sons and daughters, the eldest of whom was George Augustus Frederick, Prince of Wales, born in 1762. The war with the American colonies was then happily over; and the nation was entering on a new period of its career. After various bitter contests between the parliamentary leaders and parties of the time, William Pitt, son of the great Earl of Chatham, had, by a remarkable conjunction of circumstances, been called upon (1784) to assume the place of prime-minister. He was then only in his twenty-fifth year (born 1759); but such were his abilities, such was the state of parties, and so firmly did the king cling to him, that for seventeen years (1784–1801) he retained office, and was virtually during all that time the ruler of Great Britain. His ministry, though formed of various elements, came in course of time to be called a 'Tory ministry;' while the opposition to it, though also composed of various elements, came to be recognised

as 'Whigs.' The leading men of this opposition were, Charles James Fox, son of Lord Holland (born 1749), Edmund Burke (born 1730), and Richard Brinsley Sheridan (born 1751). The Prince of Wales, between whom and his father there had for a long time been no good-will, and who had already become notorious for his vices and extravagance, also attached himself to the opposition, and became the hope of the Whig party, while the Tories rallied round the king.

364. When Pitt took office, it was with the view of being a great peace-minister, and carrying measures of domestic and colonial importance. He had prepared, and had actually submitted to parliament, a scheme of parliamentary reform (1785); and he was also occupied in schemes for the improvement of the government of India. Suddenly these schemes were interrupted by the engrossing interest of the nation in the French Revolution. At first, a considerable portion of the people sympathised with this movement; but the violence of the Jacobins and the execution of the king produced a reaction, and the moderate Whigs hastened to disclaim all sympathy with the conduct of those who in France called themselves the champions of liberty. Burke conceived the utmost horror of the revolutionists and their principles, and wrote eloquently against them. On Pitt's policy, the immediate effect of the revolution was to make him give up his scheme of parliamentary reform. The example of the neighbouring country seemed to him and his colleagues a warning of the dangers that might result from sudden changes in the constitution; and from that time, whenever proposals of parliamentary reform were made by others, he strenuously resisted them. In short, the French Revolution changed Pitt from a peace-minister into a war-minister; and, during the remainder of his life, it is as a man wielding the resources of Great Britain, in the name of the British king, and with the cordial consent of a large proportion of the British people, for the overthrow of republicanism and the restoration of royalty in France, that he figures in the world's history.

365. The transactions of Britain in the first war with

France (1793–1802) have been already related. They consisted chiefly in naval conquests, under Nelson, Duncan, and other admirals, over the colonies and fleets of the French and their allies the Dutch; in some slight and not very successful attempts by British troops, under the Duke of York and other generals, against the French and their allies in different parts of the continent; and in vast subsidies of money to the continental powers who carried on the war by land. The small progress made, notwithstanding all these expensive efforts, towards the attainment of the original object of the war—the restoration of the Bourbons—soon disgusted the bulk of the nation. 'What have we to do with the restoration of the Bourbons?' became a very general cry; and it grew louder and more emphatic after the accession of the Directory, and subsequently of Bonaparte, to the chief power in France, had removed that anarchy which had prevailed under the Jacobins, and had been the pretext for the war at first. Fox and the other Whig leaders became the spokesmen of this feeling in parliament; while in many quarters positive sympathy with French democracy was unequivocally manifested, and had to be repressed by laws against sedition framed for the purpose. The king, Pitt, and his colleagues, however, persevered till the year 1802, when the Peace of Amiens was concluded (§ 248). This peace was concluded, not by the ministry of Pitt, but by that of Mr Addington, afterwards Lord Sidmouth; Mr Pitt having resigned office in the previous year.

366. The cause of Mr Pitt's resignation was important. The excitement of the French Revolution had been felt in no part of the British dominions so much as in Ireland. The natives of Ireland, though they then had a parliament of their own, accounted themselves little better than the slaves of the British king, inasmuch as only the Protestant minority of the population enjoyed political or parliamentary rights, and the Catholic majority were under severe penal laws. For more than a hundred years, a wild desire of revenge against England had been pent up in the Irish heart; and, the democratic contagion of the French Revolution acting on this smouldering mass of feeling, there

burst forth in 1798 an insurrection which threatened to convulse all Ireland. The French even sent an expedition, to avail themselves of the means thus afforded of carrying the war home into the British dominions. The expedition failed, however, and the insurrection was suppressed. But, in order to prevent such occurrences for the future, Pitt saw that two measures would be necessary—the union of Ireland with Great Britain by means of a common parliament, just as Scotland had been united with England a century before; and the emancipation of the Catholics of Ireland from their civil and political disabilities. The first of these measures he carried; and in February 1800, Ireland, like Scotland, ceased to have a parliament of her own, and became politically united with Great Britain; with the right to send a certain number of representatives to the British parliament—thirty-two to the House of Lords, and 100 to the House of Commons—there to discuss all national affairs, those of Ireland included. The second measure, however—the emancipation of the Catholics, so as to empower the Irish to send Catholics as well as Protestants as their representatives to the British parliament—Mr Pitt was unable to carry, on account of the decided repugnance of the king to any such measure. He deemed it honourable, therefore, to resign office, and allow a new ministry to be formed by Mr Addington (February 1801).

367. Besides the war with France, and the union of Ireland with Great Britain, the first ministry of Pitt (1784–1801) was distinguished by other events of importance in the history of the British Empire. Of these, none were of greater moment than some which referred to *India*. The administration of the first governor-general, Mr Warren Hastings (§ 173), from 1773 to 1785, had been distinguished both by splendid ability and by splendid success; but, in the exercise of his power, he had frequently adopted measures with respect to native princes which philanthropic critics at home, and more particularly the Whig politicians, condemned as cruel, despotic, and unscrupulous. So loud was the outcry against him, that on his return to England he was impeached before

parliament (1786). His trial, in which Burke, Fox, Sheridan, and the other Whig leaders, were the chief accusers, lasted till 1795, when it terminated in his acquittal—public feeling, which was at first against him, having during the protracted proceedings turned in his favour. Meanwhile, his high post as governor-general of India had been conferred on the Marquis of Cornwallis. Simultaneously with his appointment, a new change was effected in the mode of administering Indian affairs. It was provided, by a bill of Mr Pitt's (1784), that for the future a body, called the Board of Control, consisting of certain members of the British government at home, nominated by the king, should be associated with the India Company in the management of all political matters relating to India, so as no longer to leave these affairs exclusively in the hands of a mere private body of merchants. It was, accordingly, partly as a servant of the East India directors, and partly as a British minister, that Lord Cornwallis went out to India. His rule (1786–1799) was firm; and, notwithstanding his pacific intentions, he was obliged to vindicate the British supremacy by various wars against native princes and conquerors, the chief of whom was Tippoo Saib, the son of Hyder Ali (§ 173), and his successor in the sovereignty of Mysore. The rule of Lord Cornwallis in India, however, was eclipsed by that of his successor, the Marquis of Wellesley (1799–1805). This 'great proconsul,' as he was called, pursued a policy of conquest, designed to bring the whole of Hindostan under the sway of Britain. He completed the subjugation of Tippoo Saib, whose capital of Seringapatam was stormed by Sir David Baird, with great slaughter (1799), in which Tippoo himself was slain. The greater part of Tippoo's dominions was then seized by the British. Still more obstinate was a war carried on by Lord Wellesley for the subjugation of the Mahrattas, a federation of warlike tribes possessing extensive territories in Western India, and gradually assuming a sway over the rest of Hindostan, which made them formidable rivals to the British power. It was in this war, which likewise terminated successfully, and added greatly to the British possessions in the peninsula, that Sir Arthur Wellesley,

the brother of the governor-general, first shewed his military talents. The great battle of Assaye (1803), by which this general ended the Mahratta war for his brother, pointed him out as the future conqueror of Bonaparte.

368. The second war with France, which began in May 1803 (§ 260), was continued, without intermission, till the final ruin of Napoleon in 1815. Five successive ministries conducted it. First came the Addington ministry, who were in office when it broke out. During the continuance of this ministry, the French troops occupied Hanover. Next came Mr Pitt's second ministry, which lasted from Mr Pitt's return to office in May 1804 till his death, at the premature age of forty-seven, in January 1806. It was during this brief but brilliant ministry that Spain joined France in the war against Britain, and that Nelson won his famous and last victory of Trafalgar (October 21, 1805). Next came a short Whig administration, formed after Pitt's death by his great rival Fox, and which, after the death of Fox in September 1806, was continued, with Lord Grenville as premier, till March 1807. Under this administration, some negotiations with a view to peace were opened with France; but Napoleon's famous decrees against British commerce, issued from Berlin after his conquest of Prussia (November 1806), roused the spirit of the nation, and rendered Whigs, as well as Tories, pugnacious and patriotic. The Whig administration was succeeded by a new Tory one, at the head of which were the Duke of Portland and Mr Perceval. It was during this administration (March 1807—May 1812) that the British expedition was fitted out which bombarded Copenhagen and destroyed the Danish fleet (§ 273), that the disastrous Walcheren expedition was fitted out for the conquest of Holland (§ 286), and that the Peninsular War was begun and carried through its first stages of success. The assassination of Mr Perceval, in the lobby of the House of Commons, by a madman named Bellingham (May 1812), led to the formation of a new ministry, of similar Tory principles, with Lord Liverpool as premier, and Lord Castlereagh as foreign secretary. Under this ministry took place the final and most splendid acts

of the war—Wellington's overthrow of the French power in the Peninsula, simultaneously with the ruin of Napoleon's empire by the Russian and German wars (1812–1813); the invasion of France by the allies, and the occupation of Paris (1814); and, finally, the great campaign of Waterloo (1815). This ministry, also, managed the British share of the negotiations in the congress of Vienna (1814–1815), and is to be held responsible for what was then done in the name of the British nation.

369. Contemporaneous with the events of the great war against Napoleon, mentioned in the preceding paragraph, were some others relating to the domestic or the general history of Britain. Of these, the most important were the following—an attempt at insurrection in Dublin, which was extinguished by the trial and execution of the ringleaders, Russell and Emmett (1803); the adoption by parliament of a bill abolishing the slave-trade, and rendering it illegal for all British subjects (1807); the capture of Buenos Ayres from the Spaniards, during their alliance with the French, and its subsequent surrender by General Whitelock (1807); the prosecution of some new wars in India by Lords Minto and Hastings, the successors of the Marquis of Wellesley in the government of that dependency, more particularly a war against the Ghoorkas, a people of the Himalayas, and one against a federation of Mahratta robber tribes, called the Pindarees (1814); and, lastly, the prosecution of a foolish and useless war against the United States of America (1812–1815), arising out of some disputes respecting the right of British vessels-of-war to detain and search American merchant ships. This last war, which did great damage to the commerce of both countries, was carried on chiefly at sea, but also by land-forces on the Canadian frontiers; and it was concluded by a treaty at Ghent in 1815, which, however, left the questions in dispute unsettled.

370. The year 1815 restored peace. Britain now rested from her labours, and could count the cost of the long wars in which she had acted so conspicuous a part. On the one hand, she found her population and her

resources far greater than they had been at the outset of the wars, her reputation greatly increased, and her colonial possessions, notwithstanding her numerous restorations to France and Holland, considerably extended. On the other hand, she found herself saddled with an enormous national debt, and with a vastly increased taxation. The annual taxation of Britain, in the beginning of the reign of George III., amounted to only £9,000,000 sterling; in 1793, it had increased to £17,000,000; but in 1815, the last year of the war, it was no less than £72,210,512. During the last seven years of the war, upwards of £470,000,000 sterling were raised from the nation by taxes alone, the greater part of which was consumed in the expenses of the war. From the very first, however, it had been found impossible to provide for the war-expenses of the year by the taxes of the year; and Pitt had begun a system of borrowing, which had been continued by his successors. Altogether, between 1793 and 1815, upwards of £600,000,000 were raised by loans, over and above what was raised by taxation; and the consequence was, that whereas, at the beginning of the reign of George III., the national debt did not amount to much more than £100,000,000, it now amounts to upwards of £800,000,000, involving the necessity of taxes at the rate of about £30,000,000 every year, merely to pay the interest. Such is our inheritance from the great wars of 1793–1815.

371. During the last five years of the war, George III. had been king only in name. He had several times, in the course of his reign, been seized by a mental malady, which rendered him incapable of public business; and in October 1810, he had become totally insane. The Prince of Wales had been appointed as his substitute, with the title of prince-regent, and with powers all but royal. Accordingly, it was during the so-called 'Regency,' when the prince was really the sovereign of the country, and his poor old father was confined, in a state of helpless insanity, to padded rooms in his palaces, that the great events which distinguished the Perceval and Liverpool *administrations* from 1810 to 1815 took place. It was

the prince-regent that received the allied sovereigns during their visit to England in 1814; and it was in a letter addressed to the prince-regent that Napoleon surrendered himself to the British nation after the battle of Waterloo. In his early life, as we have seen, the prince had professed himself a Whig, and had been the associate of Fox and Sheridan; but, long before his accession to the regency, he had separated himself from this party, and, as regent, his policy was very nearly identical with that which had been pursued by his father. His private character, however, was such, that the nation at large regarded him with very different feelings from those with which they regarded the old king. Obstinate in his opinions, and opposed to many measures which the nation regarded as essential to its progress, George III. was nevertheless always regarded with a certain kindly respect on account of his private virtues. His son, on the other hand, profligate in his conduct, and so extravagant, that several times already the nation had been called upon to pay his debts, was generally disliked.

372. The regency continued till the year 1820, or five years after the general peace. During these five years, the Liverpool administration still remained at the head of affairs, though with some changes—the most important of which was the re-admission to office (1816) of George Canning, an able and eloquent statesman, formerly connected with the administrations of Pitt and Perceval, and of more liberal opinions on some questions than were entertained by the majority of his party at that time. The policy of the ministry, however, sustained little change; and though some important legislative measures were carried, both the prince-regent and the ministry remained hostile to parliamentary reform and to the emancipation of the Catholics. The interest of the country at this time was divided between these questions and certain scandals relating to the prince-regent and his wife, the Princess Caroline. Married in 1795, when the prince was thirty-three years of age, they had separated after about a year. Before their separation, however, a princess had been born, in whom, as the next heir to the

throne after the prince-regent, the nation took a great interest. This princess, named Charlotte, after her grandmother, had been married, in 1816, to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg; but in November 1817, she died in giving birth to a child, who also died. The event produced a great sensation, inasmuch as it transferred the chance of succession to the throne to the Duke of York, the second surviving son of George III.; and from that time, the quarrel between the prince-regent and his wife became even more open and scandalous than it had been before. The court and the Tories took the part of the prince; the Whigs, and the people generally, that of the princess.

373. By the death of George III., on the 29th of January 1820, the prince-regent, then in his fifty-eighth year, ascended the throne as George IV. His reign lasted ten years, closing on the 26th of June 1830. During seven of these years, the Liverpool administration still continued at the head of affairs, as it had done since the year 1812. One of the first acts of this ministry, under the new reign, was the trial of Queen Caroline, with a view to her divorce. The excitement caused in parliament, and throughout the nation, by this event, was immense. Out of hostility to the king and the ministry, the people made the queen's cause their own; and the bill for her divorce had to be abandoned. The unhappy woman did not long survive this trial, dying in August 1821, out of chagrin at having been refused admittance into Westminster Hall during her husband's coronation. It was not only in sympathy with Queen Caroline, however, that the dislike of the nation to the ministry manifested itself. Numerous secret and seditious societies had sprung into existence, in consequence of the perseverance of government in checking the free action of public opinion on political subjects; and in 1820, a conspiracy, generally called the Cato-Street Conspiracy, was detected, the object of which was the assassination of the ministers. With a view to recover his popularity, the king made visits in person to Ireland, Hanover, and Scotland, in 1821 and 1822. It was during his absence in Scotland that an event took place which occasioned an important change in

the Liverpool administration. This was the death, by his own hand (August 12, 1822), of Lord Castlereagh, then Marquis of Londonderry, and more unpopular than any of his colleagues. His place was filled by the appointment of Mr Canning, whose brilliant genius infused new life into the administration. During Canning's foreign ministry, the nation was engaged in some important negotiations with Spain and Portugal, having reference more especially to the American colonies of these countries (1823); and during the same ministry, it was engaged in two wars—one against the Ashantees of Western Africa (1824), and one against the Burmese of the Eastern peninsula, which terminated (February 1826) in the acquisition by Britain of some territories on the east of the Bay of Bengal. During the same period, some domestic legislative improvements were effected, particularly in the criminal code. On the great question of Catholic emancipation, however—notwithstanding that Canning, since his first connection with Pitt in 1798, had always advocated that measure—no progress was made so long as Lord Liverpool was premier. But a stroke of apoplexy having incapacitated that nobleman, and Canning having been called to take his place at the head of a new ministry (April 1827), the nation began to hope that this question too would be settled. On this occasion, however, many of Canning's friends of the Tory party deserted him, and he was obliged to call some of the leading Whigs to his aid. His death, in August 1827, extinguished the hopes that had been formed on his accession to the premiership; and a new ministry was formed under Lord Goderich. This ministry lasted till January 1828, when the Duke of Wellington, who, since the battle of Waterloo, had been quietly wearing his laurels, but was now induced to apply his abilities in the new field of political life, was placed at the head of affairs. At first, some of Canning's adherents, and of the Whigs who had joined him, were associated with the duke in this ministry; but differences occurred which caused their resignation, and left the duke at the head of a ministry composed entirely of men of the Tory party, among whom was Mr, afterwards Sir Robert

Peel. So bent was the nation, however, on carrying Catholic emancipation, that the duke and his colleagues saw that it would be useless to oppose the measure any longer; and, accordingly, the Relief Bill, which removed the civil and political disabilities of his majesty's Catholic subjects, was carried by the ministry through both houses of parliament, and received the royal assent (April 13, 1829). It was during the discussions relating to this great measure that Mr O'Connell first appeared as an Irish political leader, having been returned to the House of Commons by the county of Clare. Among the last measures of the reign of George IV. was one abolishing the punishment of death for forgery and some other offences, for which, in the barbarism of our code, it had hitherto been awarded (1830).

374. The Duke of York having died in 1827, George IV. was succeeded by his next brother, the Duke of Clarence, who had been bred in the naval service, and who ascended the throne as William IV. (June 26, 1830—June 20, 1837). The all-absorbing question at the beginning of his reign was that of parliamentary reform—a question which had been entertained, as we have seen, fifty years before by Mr Pitt, and which, though arrested by the French Revolution, had been gradually ripening under successive ministries, till the country from end to end was interested in nothing else. The excitement caused by the French Revolution of July 1830 added something like fury to the popular passion for reform in Great Britain. The Wellington ministry, however, though they had conceded Catholic emancipation, were unwilling to concede parliamentary reform; and a Whig ministry, under Earl Grey—the first Whig ministry that had existed since the Fox and Grenville ministry of 1806–7—was called into power (November 1830). For a year and a half, this ministry, one of the most prominent members of which was Lord John Russell, maintained a struggle with their antagonists on the reform question. They were beaten again and again in the House of Lords, though victorious in the Commons; and it was not till the excitement out of doors had become so formidable, and the Duke of

Wellington and his friends were convinced that further opposition would lead to a civil war, that opposition ceased. On the 4th of June 1832, the Reform Bill passed the Lords, and three days afterwards it received the royal assent. In January 1833, the first parliament under the new bill met, and proceeded to carry some measures of vast importance; among which was a reform of the poor-laws, a change in the system of the Irish Church, and the complete abolition of slavery in the British colonies, with a compensation of £20,000,000 sterling to the slave-owners for their loss. Meanwhile, some changes had occurred in the Whig ministry, which led to the resignation of Earl Grey and the appointment of Lord Althorpe as premier; and at length, in December 1834, the Whigs retired from office altogether, and a new 'Conservative' ministry was formed, with Sir Robert Peel as premier, and the Duke of Wellington as foreign secretary. This ministry did not last long; for, having been defeated in the House of Commons, they resigned in April 1835, and a second Whig ministry came into power, with Lord Melbourne at its head. By this ministry were carried, under the name of the Municipal Reform Acts (1835–6), several most important bills, investing the rate-payers of about 200 towns in the kingdom with the right of choosing their magistracies, hitherto either self-elected or chosen by small bodies of 'freemen,' &c., and otherwise defining the manner in which towns and boroughs were to administer their local affairs. The city of London was exempted from this reform, on account of peculiar difficulties presented by its complex municipal system.

375. Her present majesty, Queen Victoria, ascended the throne on the 20th of June 1837, and married her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, in 1840. Among the events of her reign prior to 1848, the most deserving of note are—the Canadian rebellion of 1837, which was happily suppressed in such a manner as to remove the grievances of which the Canadians had complained, and secure their continued allegiance to the British crown; the Disruption of the Scottish Church

(May 1843), by the secession of a large number of clergymen, with their congregations, from the Establishment; the Irish agitations for repeal of the Union, which were brought to an end by Mr O'Connell's death in 1847, but left new forms of agitation behind them; and the adoption by the country of a new system of commercial policy, known as 'the system of free-trade.' This last measure, after having been matured by discussions among the people at large, under the auspices of an association called the 'Anti-Corn-Law League,' was finally carried through parliament by Sir Robert Peel, as the head of a Conservative administration (June 1846). The early years of Queen Victoria's reign were also distinguished by increasing emigration from Britain and Ireland to America and to the Australian colonies; by formidable wars in North-western India, against the Afghans and other tribes (1842); and by a war with the Chinese, which terminated (1842) in the cession of Hong-Kong to the British, and in the opening of five Chinese ports to the commerce of the world.

376. SPAIN.—Released from his long captivity in France (1807–1814) by the Treaty of Valençay (§ 328), the Bourbon Ferdinand VII. returned to Spain to occupy the throne, from which the success of the British arms in the Peninsula, and the patriotic efforts of the Spanish people, had, after six years of uneasy possession of it, driven Joseph Bonaparte. The Spaniards received the royal exile with acclamations, and flattered themselves that they were about to enter on a new era of national liberty and prosperity, in which the wounds caused by French rule would be healed, and 'Spain and the Indies' would once more figure among the foremost powers of the world. Their reliance, with a view to these results, was on that new democratic constitution which, during Ferdinand's absence, and while the war against the French was going on, the patriotic cortes of Cadiz had prepared with such assiduity, and at last proclaimed as the future basis of the Spanish monarchy (§ 299). By this 'Constitution of 1812,' as it was called, the royal power had been limited, the *Inquisition* abolished, monasteries suppressed and their

property confiscated, and the future government of Spain and its dependencies vested, in conjunction with the king, in a general parliament or cortes, elected by universal suffrage, and to which the colonies were to send representatives.

377. Never was a nation so deceived, or treated with such ingratitude. Hardly had Ferdinand set foot in Spain, when he repudiated the new constitution, and declared all the acts of the cortes by which it had been framed, to be null and void (May 1814). Absolute rule was revived in its worst form. The Inquisition was re-established; the Jesuits were recalled, and intrusted with the chief offices of the state and the universities; monasteries were restored, and their property given back; and men who had distinguished themselves by their patriotism during the preceding six years were prosecuted and thrown into prison. So successfully did Ferdinand reduce the Spaniards under his tyranny, that it was not till 1820 that any effective attempt was made in Spain itself to assert the liberties of the nation, though, in the meantime, not a few patriots endeavoured to rouse their countrymen, and fell victims to their zeal. Prior to 1820, however, the Spanish colonies in America had shewn a bolder spirit.

378. Three hundred years had elapsed since Columbus, Cortez, Pizarro, and other adventurers, had added these jewels to the crown of Spain; and during these three centuries, the descendants of the original colonists spread over South America, part of North America, and the Spanish West Indies; and there, forming different Spanish-speaking populations of mixed blood, had been in a condition of abject slavery to the court at Madrid. Not only were their viceroys and captains-general sent over from Spain, even the lowest clerks, and other officials connected with the administration, came from Spain, and were irresponsible to the colonists. The corruption was, consequently, frightful; justice was bought and sold in the law-courts, and the colonists were mercilessly robbed. Moreover, the mercantile system, which the governors and officials were sent over to enforce, was one of the most ruinous nature. It was monopoly in its worst shape. It was prescribed

to the colonists what produce they should cultivate; and the cultivation of certain kinds of produce, and all kinds of manufacturing industry, were strictly prohibited. The purpose was to oblige the colonists to accept the refuse of the commodities and manufactures of the mother-country, in barter for the metals, the spices, the tobacco, and other colonial products which the mother-country required. To secure this still further, the colonists were prohibited, under pain of death, from trading with any nation except Spain. Even intercourse of any kind with foreign nations was discouraged. Whatever in the shape of literature or education the colonists enjoyed, came to them through the hands of ignorant and bigoted monks and priests, taken from the monasteries and churches of Spain as not good enough for home service. As late as 1810, there was but one printing-press in all Spanish South America, and that was under the control of the monks, who carefully prevented the circulation of any book that had not been examined and approved by them. In short, there was no part of the world in which human nature was so systematically degraded as in the American colonies of Spain.

379. The American and French revolutions had some effect on the Spanish colonies. New ideas crept in, and democratic books were circulated, in spite of the vigilance of the Inquisition. A spirit of disaffection to the mother-country, and a desire for independence, began to spread from colony to colony; and some attempts at insurrection were made. It was not till 1810, however, that any decisive revolt occurred. In that year—the mother-country being then, it is to be remembered, distracted under French rule, and the colonies, consequently, left to shift for themselves under the viceroys and captains-general who chanced to possess the government—the two South American colonies of Venezuela and New Grenada rose against their captains-general and deposed them. This was the commencement of a general war, called 'the War of Spanish Independence in America,' which lasted without much interruption till 1825. The royalists, or adherents of the mother-country, with the priests on their side, made great exertions to suppress the revolt; more especially after

the restoration of Ferdinand to the Spanish throne had put an end to the confusion at home; and the cruelties inflicted on the insurgents, wherever they were defeated, were savage beyond description. The flame of revolt spread, however, and patriotic leaders sprang up, of whom by far the most able and heroic was Simon Bolivar, a native Venezuelan, born at Caracas in 1783, but educated in Europe. The actions of this extraordinary man, and of his associates, some of whom were volunteers from Britain and the United States, would, if related in detail, form a striking history. Suffice it here to say, that, one by one, all the colonies of Spain, both in North and South America, liberated themselves from the dominion of the mother-country, and set up as independent republics, with popular legislative assemblies, and with patriotic chiefs as their presidents. The republic of *La Plata*, called also the *Argentine Republic*, with an area of 700,000 square miles, and with Buenos Ayres for its capital, dates its independence from the year 1816, when a number of provinces associated themselves into one federal body under that name; next came the republic of *Chili*, with an area of about 130,000 square miles, the independence of which was established in 1818; in the year 1819 was established the republic of *Colombia*, with an area of about 1,300,000 square miles, and a population of about 3,000,000 (subsequently divided into the three separate republics of Venezuela, New Grenada, and Ecuador); *Peru*, with Lima for its capital, and an area of 600,000 square miles, became an independent republic in 1821; *Bolivia*, with an area of 320,000 square miles, was separated from Peru as an independent republic in 1824; the republic of *Paraguay*, with an area of 150,000 square miles, was formed soon after; and the republic of *Uruguay*, or *Banda Oriental*, with an area of 220,000 square miles, was not finally formed till 1829, when the Portuguese of Brazil, who had, in the meantime, taken possession of the territories constituting it, consented to leave them independent. Such was the distribution of the Spanish colonies of South America. Meanwhile, the colonies in North America had, by a similar process, arranged themselves into two republics—

the great republic of *Mexico*, with an area of 1,700,000 square miles, and a population of 8,000,000, consisting of nineteen states and three attached territories, associated by a federal constitution in 1824 after various revolutions, in the course of which an adventurer named Iturbide held the sovereignty for a brief period, under the title of Emperor; and the smaller republic of *Guatemala*, or Central America, with an area of about 210,000 square miles, dating its independence from 1821. Thus stripped of every foot of her possessions in both parts of the American continent, all that Spain retained of her ancient conquests in the New World were the West Indian islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico; while of her dependencies in other parts of the earth, the Philippine Islands alone were of any value.

380. While the famous 'Indies' were thus liberating themselves from the tyranny of the Spanish crown, the Spaniards at home were struggling against the tyranny of the sovereign who then wore it. In 1820, insurrection became general; the royal troops joined in it; and Ferdinand was reluctantly compelled to proclaim the constitution of 1812, and to summon the cortes. A brief period of popular government followed; but the priests and the royalist party brought about a reaction; the country was thrown into a state of civil war; and a French army of 100,000 men, commanded by the Duke d'Angoulême, was sent into Spain by Louis XVIII., to assist his Bourbon kinsman, Ferdinand, in reducing his refractory subjects to obedience (1823). This invasion of Spain by French troops, in support of the principles of absolute government, was the result of deliberations among the sovereigns of Europe who were members of the 'Holy Alliance'; these sovereigns having from time to time held congresses among themselves, since that of Vienna, in order to discuss such new questions as arose requiring their united interference. The most important of these congresses was one at Verona, in 1822, attended by the Russian, Austrian, and Prussian sovereigns; and it was there that the French invasion of Spain was determined *on*. No serious efforts were made, on the part of Britain,

to support the popular cause in Spain against the native royalists and their French auxiliaries; and the Spanish patriots were left to their own resources. Their efforts were considerable. The cortes decreed a general arming of the people, and adjourned to Cadiz. The treachery of some of the Spanish generals, however, ruined the cause; the Duke d'Angoulême entered Madrid, and took Cadiz; many members of cortes, and other leading patriots, fled to England; and, supported by French bayonets, Ferdinand once more trampled on the constitution, and ruled as a hated tyrant over the Spanish people (1825).

381. During the remainder of Ferdinand's baleful reign, no fresh attempt was made by the Spaniards to assert their freedom. Even the French Revolution of July 1830, though by that time the French troops had evacuated the country, failed to rouse them. After Ferdinand's death, however (September 1833), circumstances were such as to favour the revival of constitutional government. In 1829, Ferdinand, being still childless, had married, as his fourth wife, his own niece, Maria Christina, daughter of Francis of Naples. By her he had left two infant daughters—Maria Isabella (born 1830), and Maria Louisa (born 1832). Now, there had been changes in the law and practice of Spain, in the matter of the right of females to succeed to the throne. By the most ancient law of all, females might succeed; but the Bourbons, on acceding to the Spanish monarchy, had introduced the Salic law, which prohibited female succession; and though this law had been changed in 1789, it had again been confirmed by the constitution of 1812. Acting under the influence of Queen Christina, Ferdinand had repealed the law, so as to constitute his infant daughter, Isabella, his heir. Accordingly, on his death, the infant was proclaimed queen of Spain, under the regency of her mother. But Ferdinand's younger brother, Don Carlos, who, according to the Salic law, would have been rightful heir, had many adherents in Spain, and placed himself at the head of an insurrection, in order to dethrone his niece. Thus began a civil war in Spain, which lasted seven years (1833—1840), and produced important consequences. The

Carlists, or adherents of Don Carlos, being chiefly those who were favourable to absolute monarchy, including the great body of the priests, the Queen-regent Christina, acting for her daughter, found it her interest to please the constitutionalists. A constitutional government was therefore established (1834); the cortes was restored; and many of the despotic measures of the late reign rescinded. Still, the Carlists had the advantage in the field, and, under their general, Zumalacarregui, beat army after army that was sent against them. Shocking cruelties were perpetrated on both sides. At length the forces of Isabella, aided by an auxiliary British legion, which the Whig government of Great Britain had permitted to be raised for this service, and which was commanded by General de Lacy Evans (1836), asserted their superiority over the Carlists. Espartero, a brave general, who had risen from the ranks, completed what other generals had begun; and Cabrera, the last of the Carlist chiefs, having been defeated, the war came to an end, and Queen Isabella's authority was established throughout Spain (September 1840).

382. Meanwhile, various political changes had occurred, affecting the relations of the queen-regent to the cortes, and her popularity with the nation. The constitutionalists had divided themselves into two parties—the *Moderados*, or more conservative party, who were opposed to the increase of popular power; and the *Progressistas*, or progressive and popular party. The queen-regent inclined to the former party, as more favourable to royal power; the successful general, Espartero, on the other hand, was regarded as 'the man of the people.' Accordingly, after various intrigues, which threatened a renewal of civil war, the queen-regent was obliged to abdicate, and retire into France; and Espartero was named regent in her stead (November 1840). For three years he governed Spain with much firmness and wisdom; but in 1843, a counter-revolution, brought about by the Moderados, and the priestly or absolutist party, drove him from the kingdom, and he sought refuge in England, where he was received with much respect. The government of Spain now fell *into* the hands of Narvaez, an able but despotic man,

who set aside popular forms, ruled by military force, and reduced constitutional government in Spain to a mere name. In 1846, the famous affair of the Spanish marriages (§ 362) again attracted the eyes of Europe to Spain. At the instigation of Louis-Philippe, aided by the ex-queen Christina, the queen Isabella married her cousin, the Duke of Cadiz; while her younger sister, Maria Louisa, married the Duke de Montpensier (October 1846).

383. PORTUGAL.—When Napoleon, in 1807, in order to execute his famous proclamation, that 'the house of Braganza had ceased to reign,' sent Junot into Portugal, the royal family, as we have seen (§ 275)—including the aged and insane queen, Maria Francesca, her son the prince-regent and actual sovereign, John, and other princes and princesses—embarked at once for Brazil, the great Transatlantic dependency of Portugal, there to establish a new court in the city of Rio Janeiro. Happy in their new residence in Brazil, the royal exiles did not care to return, but left the Portuguese and Wellington to resist the French as they best could. On the death of the queen, Maria Francesca, however (1810), the prince-regent, as a matter of course, assumed the title of John or Joam VI., king of Portugal and its dependencies. These dependencies included, besides Brazil, which was by far the largest and most important of them, the following colonies, acquired by Portugal during the prosperous days of Portuguese commercial enterprise: the Azores, the fine island of Madeira, the Cape Verd Islands, the small islands of San Thomas and Do Principe, the African settlements of Congo and Mozambique, the Indian settlement of Goa, and the Chinese settlement of Macao. Most of these colonies, however, were in a declining state, and not worth much.

384. Like the colonies of Spain, the colonies of Portugal had, for three centuries, been subjected to most arbitrary and cruel usage on the part of the mother-country; and even Brazil, though immensely larger in extent than Portugal itself, and containing a considerably larger population—the population of Portugal is about 3,000,000, while that of Brazil is estimated at 5,000,000, of whom

about 2,000,000 are negroes—had been treated as a mere subject-dependency, existing for the benefit of the Portuguese. All commerce, except with Portugal, was forbidden to the Brazilians; and they were governed entirely by officials and military men sent out from Portugal. The transference of the court to Brazil naturally changed this state of things. Uncertain whether he might ever return to Portugal, the king, John VI., began to regard Brazil as the best part of his dominions, and to promote its interests as distinct from those of Portugal. The Brazilian ports were thrown open, and the colonists admitted to offices of power and trust, formerly reserved for the Portuguese. Accordingly, when, in consequence of the vehement entreaties of the Portuguese at home, the king prepared to cross the Atlantic once more, and return to his palace in Lisbon, the Brazilians became alarmed lest they should be brought back to the abject condition from which they had escaped. Violent movements took place in different parts of Brazil, and a cry arose for the establishment of a constitutional government, which would render the Brazilians for ever independent of the mother-country. John VI., a kindly and judicious prince, yielded to the demand so made; and on the 26th of February 1821, a constitution was proclaimed, by which, under the regency of Don Pedro, the eldest son of the king, the Brazilians were guaranteed all the privileges of self-government, apart from Portugal. The king then set sail for Europe. He had not been long gone, however, when the Brazilians heard that the Portuguese at home, displeased with what he had done, were preparing to disown the separate constitution of Brazil, and to subject it again to the home-government. An order for the recall of Don Pedro was actually sent to Brazil. In these circumstances, the Brazilians took a decisive step. An assembly of deputies from all parts of the country was convened at Rio Janeiro, and BRAZIL was declared an independent state, with Don Pedro as its sovereign, under the title of Emperor (October 12, 1822).

385. The cause of the return of John VI. to Europe, was the determination of the Portuguese at home to

imitate their neighbours, the Spaniards, who had just abolished despotism and obtained a constitution (§ 380). Since the time of the Peninsular War, indeed, and while John was absent in Brazil, many changes for the better, including the abolition of the Inquisition, had taken place in the system of Portugal; and the demand for constitutional government was but the natural result of a desire to preserve and extend these improvements. Before they had sent to Brazil for their king, the Portuguese had proclaimed a constitution, convened a cortes, and appointed a provisional government (September 15, 1820); and when John VI. arrived, he was not permitted to land till he had sworn to uphold the new system, and to rule with the assistance of the cortes (1822). John would willingly have kept this promise, and governed as a constitutional king; but in Portugal, as in Spain, there was a numerous 'apostolical party,' as it was called—that is, a party of priests and nobles, with adherents among the peasantry, eager for the restoration of absolute rule, and, with it, of ecclesiastical intolerance; and this party was encouraged by the courts of France and Spain, as members of the 'Holy Alliance.' Moreover, this party found a resolute leader in Don Miguel, the younger son of the king. On the pretext that his father was kept in restraint by democrats and rebels, Don Miguel organised an insurrection, and, after various intrigues and some violence, compelled his father to annul the constitution (1824). Despotism was thus re-established in Portugal; and though the king, escaping from his son, disowned his acts, and endeavoured to make amends for them by various liberal measures, it was not till after his death (1826) that the constitutionalists regained what they had lost.

386. The legitimate successor of John VI. on the Portuguese throne was his eldest son, Don Pedro, emperor of Brazil. Preferring to remain in Brazil, however, Don Pedro resigned the crown of Portugal to his daughter, Donna Maria da Gloria (born 1818), on condition that, during her minority, he should still bear the royal title himself, and that, when she came of age, she should marry her uncle, Don Miguel. Before making this arrangement,

Don Pedro had conceded to the Portuguese a constitution somewhat less liberal than that which Don Miguel had abrogated, but still satisfactory in the main. It vested the government of Portugal in the sovereign and two legislative chambers, and it guaranteed the liberty of the press. But, though Don Miguel at first acquiesced, peace did not last long. The apostolical party maintained that, as Don Pedro had become a Brazilian, he had no rights in Portugal, and that Don Miguel was the lawful sovereign. They were strong enough to gain their end; the troops of the young queen were defeated; and in July 1828, Don Miguel openly usurped the Portuguese throne, and began a system of despotic rule, which filled the prisons and drove hundreds into exile. Don Pedro took up arms in defence of his own and his daughter's rights, and a bloody civil war followed, which extended itself not only over Portugal itself, but also to Madeira, the Azores, and the other dependencies of Portugal. The constitutional powers of Europe, more particularly Great Britain, as the ancient ally of Portugal, aided the young queen against the Miguelites; and at length, in May 1834, the Miguelites were completely crushed, Don Miguel himself forced to quit Portugal, and the young queen firmly established on the throne, with her father, Don Pedro, as regent. Don Pedro, however, being in feeble health, the cortes, in August 1834, declared Donna Maria to be of full age; and she assumed the government in her own name. In 1835, she married Augustus, Duke of Leuchtenburg, the eldest son of the famous Eugene Beauharnais, who, after the fall of Napoleon, had been created Duke of Leuchtenburg by the king of Bavaria; but this prince dying within a month or two, she married, as her second husband (1836), Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, the brother of Prince Albert. From that time, the affairs of Portugal proceeded smoothly, presenting nothing of greater interest than occasional contests between different parties in the cortes respecting the constitutional rights of sovereign and people, and occasional acts of intolerance on the part of local authorities towards dissenters from the Catholic faith. The chief trade of Portugal is with

Britain; and the Portuguese island of Madeira is a sanatorium for British invalids.

387. THE NETHERLANDS.—One of the most important acts of the congress of Vienna, we have seen (§ 347), had been the union of the ancient republican states of Holland with the provinces of the Belgian or Austrian Netherlands, so as to constitute a new European kingdom, called 'the kingdom of the Netherlands,' separating Northern France from Northern Germany (1815). The countries being all but identical in their geographical and physical features, and both having been for a while incorporated with France, it was thought that the two would easily coalesce; and that, as they had once before endured together the gloomy tyranny of Spain, so now they would advance together in a career of freedom and prosperity under a dynasty descended from that famous Prince of Orange who had been their common champion against the Spaniard.

388. This hope was disappointed. Distinguished from the first by certain differences of race, language, temperament, and pursuits, the people of the Northern or Dutch Netherlands, and those of the South or Belgian Netherlands, had become still more distinct from each other since the days of their common subjection to Spanish despotism. The Dutch were, in the main, Protestants of the Calvinistic denomination, whereas the Belgians were almost entirely Roman Catholics. The Dutch retained their original Low-Germanic language, whereas the Belgians, with a large infusion of Gallic blood among them from the first, had become, in the main, French in their tendencies. More brisk and energetic in disposition than the Dutch, and with greater ingenuity in all branches of manufacture, the Belgians regarded the Dutch as a staid and heavy race of traders, who were a clog upon their activity. The fact, that the dynasty of the new kingdom was Dutch, and that Dutchmen were appointed to a disproportionate number of posts in it, likewise fomented discord. In short, the Belgians resolved to separate themselves from the Dutch on the first opportunity. The contagion of the French Revolution of July 1830 spread instantaneously into Belgium; and the

inhabitants of Brussels gave the signal of revolt. The revolt became a revolution; the Dutch troops were beaten; and at length, the foreign powers of Europe intervened, and, dissolving the arrangement made at Vienna, 'declared that the so-called kingdom of the Netherlands' should be divided into two separate kingdoms, called respectively the *Kingdom of Holland* and the *Kingdom of Belgium* (December 1830).

389. The *Kingdom of Holland*, with a population of about 2,500,000, and with the Hague for its capital, was to consist of the ten provinces of North Holland, South Holland, Zealand, North Brabant, Guelderland, Utrecht, Friesland, Overyssel, Groningen, and Drenthe. The possession of this kingdom was guaranteed to the dynasty of Orange, as hereditary constitutional sovereigns. Both king and people acquiesced in this arrangement; and since 1830, the Dutch have followed their own peaceful career, celebrated among the peoples of Europe for their steadiness of character, their toleration in matters of religion, and their excellent system of education. They rank among Protestant states.

390. The *Kingdom of Belgium*, with a population of about 4,000,000, and with Brussels for its capital, was formed of the following nine provinces—Limbourg, Liege, Namur, Luxemburg, Hainault, South Brabant, East Flanders, West Flanders, and Antwerp. The congress of Belgian representatives first offered the crown to the Duke de Nemours, son of Louis-Philippe; but, on its being refused by him, chose Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, the widower of the Princess Charlotte of Britain. Accordingly, since the 22d of July 1831, Leopold has been king of the Belgians. He married, as his second wife, one of the daughters of Louis-Philippe. Governing constitutionally in co-operation with a representative legislature, consisting of a senate and a house of deputies, both elected by a pretty extensive suffrage, Leopold has been very popular with the Belgians, and his reign has been one of advancing prosperity. Railways have been laid down; manufactures have increased; and the chief Belgian towns have become seats of bustling industry. The Catholic religion

is in the ascendant; but all other sects enjoy perfect toleration.

391. GERMANY.—The constitution of the great German confederation of states, as it was settled by the congress of Vienna in 1815, has been already described (§ 347). Some further modifications in the federal system were made in 1818, 1819, and subsequent years; but, on the whole, the arrangement of 1815 has remained permanent. To trace the separate histories of all the thirty-nine states included in the confederacy, is, of course, impossible here: all that can be done is to glance at some of the more important states.

392. (1.) *Austria.*—Austria, though included in the German confederation, in virtue of its comprising territories belonging to the German portion of the map of Europe, is, in reality, a vast independent European empire. It consists of the following sixteen originally distinct states or territories:—Austria Proper, called also the archduchy of Austria; the duchy of Styria; the duchy of Salzburg; the duchy of Carinthia and Carniola; the duchy of Silesia; the kingdom of Illyria; the principality of the Tyrol; the principality of Goïz and Gradisca; the kingdom of Bohemia; the margraviate of Moravia; the kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria; the kingdom of Hungary; the principality of Transylvania; the kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia; the kingdom of Dalmatia; and the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, called also Austrian Italy. All these states or territories had gradually come into the possession of the House of Hapsburg, by marriage, inheritance, or conquest, during the past three or four centuries, and formed, in their aggregate, the Austrian Empire of Francis I. (1806–1835). Of the sixteen component parts of the empire, only seven were considered to belong to the emperor in his capacity as a German sovereign—namely, Austria Proper, Styria, Illyria, the Tyrol, Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia; the remaining parts were regarded as additional or extra-German.

393. The great peculiarity of the Austrian Empire is its heterogeneous composition. The entire population of the empire amounts to about 34,000,000, but consists of various

races of different features and character, and speaking different languages. The Germans proper form only the nucleus of the empire; they do not number more than 6,000,000, and are chiefly congregated in the western parts of the empire round Vienna—namely, in Austria Proper, Styria, Carinthia, the Tyrol, &c.—though even there they are mixed with other races. The remaining 28,000,000 consist of four great races, not counting a sprinkling of minor races, such as Jews, Greeks, gipsies, &c. Of these four races, by far the most numerous are the Slavonians. They are about 16,000,000 in number, and constitute, therefore, nearly half of the entire population of the empire. To this family belong the vast majority of the inhabitants of Bohemia, Moravia, Illyria, Galicia (formerly part of Poland), Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia, besides a considerable proportion of the inhabitants of Hungary. Next in numerical importance are the Magyars, or true Hungarians, the predominating race in Hungary and Transylvania, and numbering between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000; next to them are the Italians, or inhabitants of Austrian Italy, numbering nearly 5,000,000; and distinct from both are the Wallachs or Wallachians, inhabiting parts of Transylvania and Eastern Hungary, to the number of nearly 2,000,000, and tracing their descent from the old Roman military colonies settled in that part of Eastern Europe. Such is the distribution of the Austrian Empire according to race and language. In the matter of religion, the variety, though not so great, is still considerable. Of the entire 34,000,000, about 27,000,000 belong to the Roman Catholic communion; about 3,500,000, chiefly in Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, and other districts affected by the Hussite reformation of the fifteenth century, are Protestants of various denominations; about 3,000,000, chiefly among the Slavonians of Illyria, Croatia, &c., are members of the Greek Church; and about 500,000 are Jews, Mohammedans, &c.

394. To govern so vast and heterogeneous an empire would, in any circumstances, have been a formidable task; but by the peculiar system of rule to which it was actually subjected, there were introduced new causes of difficulty.

The government of the Austrian Empire, as settled by Francis I. in 1806, was, as it had been under his ancestors of the Hapsburg line, an absolute hereditary despotism. For administrative purposes, the empire was divided into twelve parts, which again were subdivided into provinces; and over each part and each province were governors and other officials appointed by the emperor, and responsible to him alone. The general government of the empire was concentrated in Vienna, where the emperor, in conjunction with a small council, consisting of members of his own family and a few official ministers, deliberated on affairs as they occurred, and passed such decrees as were thought necessary. The chief minister of Francis I. after 1815, and the man by whom the empire was in reality governed, was Prince Metternich. As 'privy-chancellor of state,' Metternich acted in all matters for the emperor. A man of pleasing manners, and highly cultivated mind, it was his object to govern despotically, and yet to let the despotism be as little felt as possible. To promote the material comfort of the various populations subject to Austria; to provide them with amusements, and keep them in good-humour; to permit them to cultivate art and literature, but at the same time to check all discussion on political subjects, and instantly to suppress all symptoms of innovation in church or state, and all opinions tending to innovation—such was the policy of Prince Metternich. In a small and compact dominion, this system of 'paternal government,' as it was called, might have succeeded; and, indeed, among the Germans in and round about Vienna, who saw the emperor and his family driving about in public, or sitting in the theatres, without ostentation, the system was popular. In so large an empire, however, the personal popularity of the sovereign could not penetrate far; and hence it was only by harshness and severity on the part of the resident officials, by arrests of discontented individuals, and by employing military forces collected in one part of the empire to keep down revolt in another, that the various provinces and populations could be held together.

395. The political history of Austria, under the rule of

Metternich, as minister first for Francis I., from 1815 to 1835, and then for his son and successor, Ferdinand (1835–1848), may be said to have consisted in an incessant war between the central government and the four following elements of revolt:—1. *German Liberalism.* Under this name is signified that longing for political freedom and constitutional government which existed among the Austrians proper and other German subjects of the empire. Although many of these did not trouble themselves about politics, there were not a few—chiefly among the young of the educated classes—who were full of democratic opinions, and anxious for a revolution which would destroy the existing despotism. Men of this stamp were carefully watched by the police, and some of them were confined to Spielberg and other prisons. 2. *Magyarism*, or *Hungarian Constitutionalism.* This was a peculiar element, confined to Hungary. Only in this part of the empire had the government of Vienna to contend with the relics of an ancient constitutional system. In some other parts of the empire, it is true, provincial assemblies were held according to ancient custom; but it was only for such purposes as assessing the taxes imposed by the Austrian cabinet. Hungary alone had a true legislative diet and constitution. The Hungarians, in fact, remembering that the ancient crown of their country had fallen to the inheritance of the Austrian sovereigns only by the marriage of a Hungarian princess in 1526 with the Austrian sovereign then ruling, did not regard themselves as a portion of the Austrian Empire at all, but as a separate nation, whose hereditary sovereign chanced also to be the hereditary sovereign of Austria. It was not till every new Austrian sovereign had gone through a separate ceremony, and sworn a separate oath, that he was invested with the ancient crown of Hungary. Hungary, also, had a ministry of its own separate from the Austrian ministry; and the Hungarian diet was a fierce and stormy assembly, which neither the sovereign nor his ministry could overrule. For several generations, a violent struggle had been going on between the Hapsburg emperors and their Hungarian subjects, especially the Magyar nobles—the emperors, on

the one hand, trying to establish a uniformity between Hungary and the rest of their dominions; and the Magyar nobles, on the other hand, fighting for their rights and privileges. The national spirit of the Hungarians grew so high, that in 1830 they abolished the use of Latin in their parliamentary and other proceedings, and decreed the use of the Magyar language instead. There were two parties, however, among the Hungarian constitutionalists: there was what was called the 'Old Magyar party,' who were for keeping up the constitution in its existing aristocratic form, according to which none but the Magyar nobles possessed political rights in Hungary, they being, as it were, a governing caste in the midst of Slavonian and other serfs; and there was a 'New Hungarian party,' consisting of men who thought the independence of Hungary could only be maintained by admitting all inhabitants of Hungary alike to political rights, and forming Magyars, Slavonians, and other races, into one powerful nation. Of this second party, one of the most distinguished leaders was Louis Kossuth, a Magyar by birth, who had been returned as a member to the Hungarian diet, and had already been imprisoned by the Austrian government for his political opinions expressed there and through the press. 3. *Italian Patriotism.* In no part of the Austrian dominions was the hatred to Austrian rule more intense than in Northern Italy. Differing in so many respects from the Germans, the Italians of the rich and beautiful region of Lombardy had, from the period of their first subjection to Austrian rule (§ 104), groaned and heaved under the yoke. The conquest of Northern Italy by the French, and its annexation to the empire of Napoleon, had been regarded by the Italians as a blessing, in so far as it delivered them from the Austrians. After the fall of Napoleon, however, the Austrian emperor recovered his dominions in Lombardy, to which, by way of compensation for the loss of the Belgian or Austrian Netherlands, the congress of Vienna added the territories of the ancient republic of Venice, extinguished by Napoleon (§ 234). Thus was formed the so-called 'Lombardo-Venetian kingdom.' It was in vain

that the Austrians tried to gain over the inhabitants of these lands by measures of material improvement: the natives detested them as foreigners, and continually formed conspiracies for overthrowing their rule; and it was only by a vigilant system of police, and by keeping large garrisons of armed men in Milan, Mantua, Venice, and other towns, that the Austrians were able to maintain their authority. 4. *Slavism*, or *Slavonian Nationality*. After 1815, the various Slavonian populations of the Austrian Empire—the Bohemians, the Moravians, the Poles of Galicia, the Croatians, the Illyrians, &c.—were governed, like the other subject-populations of Austria, by officials appointed by the central government at Vienna. But the feeling of nationality operated in a peculiar fashion among these Slavonians; and between the years 1820 and 1830, there was hardly one of the Slavonian peoples subject to Austria which did not shew signs of a desire to be independent of German rule. These vague longings at length took a definite form in what was called 'Pan-Slavism'—a political doctrine at first propounded only as a speculation, but which has since acquired great practical importance. The doctrine first acquired strength in Bohemia, the inhabitants of which were, and still are, among the most intelligent of the Slavonian peoples. Its immediate propounder, however, was John Kollar, a Protestant clergyman of Slavonian birth in the Hungarian town of Pesth. A man of poetical and fervid, and, at the same time, of scholarly mind, Kollar (1820–8) took a broader view of the prospects of the Slavonian races than had been taken before. He extended his regards not only to the Slavonian populations attached to Austria, but also to the vast populations of the same race forming the bulk of the Russian Empire, and to the Slavonians attached to Turkey and to Prussia. His ideas took the following form: 'We, Slavonians, now split up into so many fragments, subject to different masters—some under Austria, some under Prussia, some under Turkey, while only one portion (namely, Russia) is independent—are, in reality, one great family, numerically the most important of the European races. We are 80,000,000 in all; whereas, at

the utmost calculation, the Germanic inhabitants of Europe do not exceed 50,000,000. Nor, though we are apparently cut up into distinct parts, are there any such differences among us as ought to prevent our union. True, there are different religions among us—about 54,000,000 of us belonging to the Greek Church, about 23,000,000 being Roman Catholics, and the rest being Protestants and Mohammedans; true, also, there are peculiarities of dialect, character, &c., distinguishing the Russian from the Pole, the Pole from the Bohemian, the Bohemian from the Croat, and the Croat from the Servian. Underneath these differences, however, there is, in the main, a common character, belonging to the Slavonians as such; and the various dialects of our common Slavonian tongue do not differ so much but that those who speak them are, in most cases, mutually intelligible. It is the duty of all Slavonians, whether Russians, Bohemians, Poles, or Servians, to remember this, and to strive by every means to hasten the time when all shall be united. For this purpose, let the different Slavonian peoples all employ one written character; let them study each other's literary productions; and let the young in their schools be taught to look back to their common past, and to anticipate the great future when the Slavonian race shall predominate in Europe.' Such was the theory of 'Pan-Slavism'—a combination of the Greek *Pan*, meaning 'all,' with the name of the race—as propounded by Kollar in verse and prose. Various Bohemian scholars took it up, and disseminated it by their writings; and very soon it took possession of the popular mind in all the Slavonian countries. It was impossible, from the circumstances in which the Slavonian populations were placed, to give any practical form to the theory, so as to make it bear on the actual politics of Austria; but, on the whole, three speculative political schemes grew out of it, to one or other of which most of those who held the theory adhered. According to one set of Slavonian thinkers, the proper consummation of the Slavic movement would be an aggregation of the scattered fragments of the great Slavonian family into four confederate groups: the 'Illyrian' group, comprehending the

southern Slavonian peoples attached to Austria and Turkey—namely, the Illyrians, the Croats, the Slavonians of Hungary, the Servians, the Dalmatians, the Bosniaks, the Montenegrins, and the Bulgarians; the 'Czeckish,' or 'Bohemian' group, comprehending the western Slavonians of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, &c.; the 'Polish' group, comprehending the populations formerly included in ancient Poland, and now distributed among Russia, Austria, and Prussia; and the 'Russian' group, comprehending the Russians proper. According to a second class of thinkers, the proper consummation would be a political union of all the Slavonian peoples indiscriminately, under the guidance and ascendancy of Russia, so as to form one huge Panslavic empire. According to a third class of thinkers, the proper consummation would be a rearrangement of all the Slavonian peoples into two great masses—a reformed Russian Empire, to include all the present possessions of Russia with the exception of the Poles; and a reformed Austrian Empire, to include all the remaining Slavonians, on a basis similar to that proposed by the Emperor Joseph when he entertained the idea of converting Austria from a Germanic into a Slavonian state (§ 153). All these several views were afloat among the Slavonians subject to Austria from 1820 to 1848; and the Austrian government, regarding them as mere speculations, was not very severe in putting them down. It was even deemed advisable by Metternich to foster the feeling of Slavonian nationality among the Croats and the Slavonians of Hungary, as a check to the more formidable Magyar movement with which the Austrian government was then contending.

396. (2.) *Prussia.*—Frederick-William III., whose long reign over Prussia had begun in 1797, and had been so checkered by great events and great misfortunes, died in 1840, and was succeeded by his son, Frederick-William IV., the present sovereign. Under these two sovereigns, Prussia, since 1815, has maintained its place as the second in point of magnitude of the states of Germany, and *perhaps* the first in commercial and intellectual importance.

In 1837, the population was upwards of 14,000,000. This population, however, was less mixed than that of the Austrian Empire—about 9,000,000 consisting of pure Germans, about 4,000,000 of Slavonians, and the remaining 1,000,000 of French, Jews, and other races. According to religious belief, the distribution was somewhat different, about 8,000,000 being Protestants, about 5,000,000 Catholics, and the rest of other sects. The chief points of difference, it will be observed, between Prussia and Austria are, that Prussia, though the smaller, on the whole, is the more German in respect of its population, and that its predominating form of religion is Protestantism.

397. As soon as the Prussians were liberated from the French dominion, they relapsed into their old condition as a people governed despotically by their native monarchs. The power of the crown was absolute, there being no parliament or general legislative assembly. In 1815, Frederick-William III. made a promise of certain changes in the constitution of the kingdom, which should increase the power of the people and limit that of the crown; but it was not till 1823 that anything was done to redeem this promise. In that year, a law was passed instituting provincial assemblies, with certain deliberative powers and the right of assessing the taxes, in each of the eight provinces into which the kingdom was divided for administrative purposes. The king, however, steadily avoided committing himself to a general national representation; and his son and successor adhered as long as he could to the same policy. This naturally occasioned discontent among the Prussians, who, as being one of the best educated peoples in Europe, thought themselves as well entitled as any other to representative institutions. The solid character of the people, however, their hereditary loyalty to the ruling house, the freedom allowed to them in intellectual matters, and the general care of the government in selecting able officials, all tended to prevent political feeling from rising so high as in other despotically governed states; and, on the whole, from 1815 to 1848, the Prussians

were among the most orderly and happy of the nations of Europe, distinguished by a spirit of nationality and patriotism not usual among the Germans. The practice of making every Prussian serve for a certain period of his life in the national *landwehr*, or militia, has had a considerable effect in increasing the patriotic spirit of the people, and in imparting to them a certain military pride and bearing.

398. Not having, like the Austrian government, to rule over different nationalities—the Slavonians attached to Prussia being insufficient in number to create a formidable division in the kingdom—the sole form of political discontentment with which the Prussian government has had to contend, has been that already described under the name of *German liberalism* (§ 394). Prussia, indeed, rather than Austria, was the hotbed of this feeling. In Prussia, however, it manifested itself in a double form—first, in the mere desire for a constitutional government in Prussia itself; and, secondly, in a vague, speculative aspiration after the union of all the German states into one body-politic, with Prussia as the head. The notion of 'German unity,' or 'Pan-Teutonism,' as it has been called, arose first among the ardent and dreamy youths of the Prussian universities; but it soon spread over all Germany, and affected even the German governments. One of its most remarkable effects was the establishment, in 1831, under the auspices of the Prussian government, of the famous 'Zollverein,' or German commercial league, the object of which was to secure reciprocal freedom of trade to the German states by the abolition of customs-restrictions on their mutual exchange of commodities. This commercial union, however, was meant but as a step to a more intimate political union; and, during the last forty years, one cause of jealousy between Prussia and Austria has been the pretension of Prussia to take the lead in measures tending to this new political consolidation of Germany as a whole.

399. (3.) *The Minor German States.*—The following is a list of the Minor German States, with their respective

populations in 1838, and their forms of government at that time :—

	Population.	Government.	
The Kingdoms of			
Bavaria,	4,315,469	Limited Sovereignty	Two Legislative Chambers.
Hanover,	1,688,285	〃 〃	〃
Saxony,	1,618,495	〃 〃	〃
Würtemberg,	1,626,665	〃 〃	〃
The Electorate of			
Hesse-Cassel,	700,383	〃 〃	One Chamber.
The Grand-duchies of			
Baden,	1,231,309	〃 〃	Two Chambers.
Hesse-Darmstadt,	760,964	〃 〃	〃 〃
Mecklenburg-Schwerin,	476,000	〃 〃	One Chamber.
Mecklenburg-Strelitz,	85,257	〃 〃	〃 〃
Oldenburg,	264,154	Absolute Sovereignty.	
Saxe-Weimar,	244,174	Limited 〃 :	One Chamber.
The Duchies of			
Anhalt-Bernburg,	45,135	Limited Sovereignties.	
Anhalt-Köthen,	40,153		
Anhalt-Dessau,	60,945		
Brunswick,	251,000	Limited Sovereignty :	One Chamber.
Holstein,	467,596	〃 〃	〃 〃
Luxemburg,	305,000	〃 〃	〃 〃
Nassau,	379,272	〃 〃	Two Chambers.
Saxe-Altenburg,	121,248	〃 〃	One Chamber.
Saxe-Coburg and Gotha,	137,216	〃 〃	〃 〃
Saxe-Meiningen,	148,078	〃 〃	〃 〃
The Landgraviate of			
Hesse-Homburg,	47,000	Absolute Sovereignty.	
The Principalities of			
Hohenzollern-Hechingen,	21,000	Limited 〃	One Chamber.
Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen,	42,420	〃 〃	〃 〃
Liechtenstein,	30,041	〃 〃	〃 〃
Lippe-Detmold,	76,730	〃 〃	〃 〃
Reuss (1),	30,041	〃 〃	〃 〃
Reuss (2),	68,854	〃 〃	〃 〃
Schwarzburg (1),	54,080	〃 〃	〃 〃
Schwarzburg (2),	65,604	〃 〃	〃 〃
Schaumburg-Lippe,	27,600	〃 〃	〃 〃
Waldeck,	56,000	〃 〃	〃 〃
The Free Cities of			
Bremen,	57,800	Republic :	Senate and Convention.
Frankfort,	54,000	〃	〃
Hamburg,	140,700	〃	Senate and Common Council.
Lubeck,	47,000	〃	〃

From this list, it will be seen that all the minor states of Germany, with the two small exceptions of the grand-duchy of Oldenburg and the landgraviate of Hesse-Homburg, possessed constitutional or representative governments at the time in question—therein differing from both Austria and Prussia. The states had acquired these constitutions at different periods—some as early as

1815; but the greater number after 1830, when the French revolution of July gave an impulse to constitutional ideas all over Germany.

400. Each of the states mentioned has had its separate history since 1815, its internal political changes, its demises of sovereigns and accessions of new ones, and such like. Thus, in the year 1837, on the death of William IV. of Great Britain, and the accession of Queen Victoria to the British throne, the kingdom of Hanover, in accordance with a constitutional law which restricted the succession to male heirs, was separated from the British crown, and passed to the Duke of Cumberland, the uncle of Her Britannic Majesty. Under the title of Ernest-Augustus, King of Hanover, he ruled from 1837 till 1851, when he was succeeded by his son, George V. It is needless, however, here to narrate the separate course of events in even such considerable German states as Hanover, Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg, and Baden; much more, in the smaller states. Suffice it to say, that in all of these states there was spread abroad, among the young and ardent Germans, that aspiration after 'German unity' which emanated from Prussia; and that in all of them there were occasional political excitements, which it sometimes required the threat of Austrian or Prussian interference to suppress. There arose also throughout many of them theories of socialism resembling those which had been broached in France. On the whole, however, in consequence of the speculative character of the German mind, which contents itself with theories while other peoples aim at results, the political and socialistic ideas of which German society was full, remained without any practical development. The students in the numerous German universities, and the artisans in the towns, discussed republicanism and the future political union of Germany in their hours of relaxation; but, meanwhile, the governments without difficulty preserved order in their respective states, and participated in the work of the federal diets held at Frankfort—some of them following the lead of Austria, and others that of Prussia.

401. ITALY.—The congress of Vienna, as we have

seen (§ 347), left the Italian peninsula divided politically into the following portions:—*Austrian Italy;* the *Kingdom of Sardinia,* or *Piedmont;* the *Grand-duchy of Tuscany;* the *Papal States;* the *Kingdom of Naples,* or *The Two Sicilies;* the small duchies of *Parma, Lucca,* and *Modena;* and the petty republic of *San Marino.* The fortunes of Austrian Italy from 1815 to 1848 were involved, as we have described, in those of the Austrian Empire; it remains, therefore, only to refer to the separate histories of the other Italian states during this period.

402. (1.) *Naples,* or *The Two Sicilies.*—It has been mentioned (§ 276), that, after the seizure of Naples by Bonaparte, and during the reigns there of Joseph Bonaparte and Murat, the Bourbon Ferdinand and his court took refuge in Sicily, where they were protected by the British fleet (1806–1815). Even while in this reduced condition, the Bourbons shewed their disposition to rule tyrannically, and there were violent quarrels between the court and the Sicilians. The British at last interfered to check the excesses of the court; and in 1812, Ferdinand was obliged to convoke the Sicilian parliament and to agree to a constitution. The probability at that time was, that Sicily and Naples would thenceforth be distinct states—Sicily forming a constitutional kingdom under Ferdinand and his heirs, while Naples remained to Murat and his successors. The events of 1815, however, and especially the defeat of Murat in his last attempt against the Austrians (§ 351), restored the Bourbons to the Neapolitan throne; and Naples and Sicily were reunited, and declared inseparable for the future. Murat made a mad attempt to recover his throne by landing with a few followers in Calabria, but was taken prisoner and shot (October 13, 1815). From that time till 1820, Ferdinand I. continued to rule in tolerable quiet over his Neapolitan subjects. In Sicily, however, where he refused to keep the constitution to which he had sworn, he became more and more unpopular. At length, in 1820, in consequence of the activity of secret societies in Naples, a revolutionary movement occurred in that part of the kingdom; and a constitution

was granted to the Neapolitans. In consequence of the interference of Austria, and the other powers of the Holy Alliance, this constitution was suppressed in the following year; and both Naples and Sicily were again subjected to all the evils of uncontrolled despotic government. Ferdinand died in 1825, and was succeeded by his son Francis I., who ruled till 1830, when his son Ferdinand II. came to the throne. (2.) *Sardinia and Piedmont.*—The history of this portion of Italy from 1815 to 1848 resembles, in its main features, that of the kingdom of Naples. Returning from the island of Sardinia, as Ferdinand had returned from Sicily, Victor Emanuel re-established his throne at Turin (§ 347), and continued to rule till 1821, as a despotic sovereign. In that year, however, a powerful insurrectionary movement took place; and Victor Emanuel resigned the throne and the task of preserving it to his brother Charles Felix. With the help of the Austrians, backed by the Holy Alliance, Charles Felix put down the insurrection, and reigned according to the despotic system till 1831, when he died, and was succeeded by his distant relative, Charles Albert—a prince who had had connections with the insurrectionary party, but who, after his accession to the throne, disappointed the hopes of that party by continuing to govern despotically, like his predecessors. (3.) *Tuscany.*—Reinstated in the grand-duchy of Tuscany in 1814, and confirmed in it, with certain additions of territory, by the congress of Vienna (§ 347), Ferdinand III. ruled in peace till his death in 1824, when he was succeeded by his son Leopold II. The first twenty-four years of Leopold's reign (1824–1848) were spent in measures of internal improvement. Though absolute in name, he governed mildly and liberally; and the consequence was, that of all the Italian sovereigns he was the most popular, and that every other Italian people envied the happiness of the Tuscans. (4.) *Parma.*—This duchy remained in possession of Napoleon's widow, Maria-Louisa, till her death in 1847, when, as settled by the congress of Vienna, it passed to the Duke of Lucca. (5.) *Lucca.*—This was but a provisional duchy, created for the Bourbons

of Parma (§ 347) till that duchy should be vacated by the death of Maria-Louisa; and accordingly, on that event, it ceased to exist, and was incorporated with Tuscany. (6.) *Modena.*—This duchy, under its hereditary possessors of the Esté family, had the distinction of being the most absolutely governed part even of Italy, there being not the slightest check on the authority of the duke. (7.) *The Republic of San Marino.*—This minute state—an anomaly in the midst of Italy—continued to be governed, according to its hereditary constitution, by an executive consisting of twelve senators, resting on a legislative of 300 counsellors or elders. (8.) *The Papal States.*—Pope Pius VII., being restored to his dominions (§ 347), outlived the man who had trampled on him and the papacy, and whose captive he had been. He died in 1822, after an eventful pontificate of twenty-two years, during only the last seven of which was he really a sovereign. His successors in the papacy were, Leo XII. (1822–1829), Pius VIII. (1829–1831), Gregory XVI. (1831–1846), and Pius IX. The last, on his accession, distinguished himself by a liberality of government which had till then been unknown in the Papal States.

403. Such are the most conspicuous of the events relating to the Italian states severally, from 1815 to 1848. The general fact in the history of Italy as a whole during that period may, however, be summed up in the one word, *insurrection.* The arrangements made by the congress of Vienna with respect to Italy, were such as to leave the Italians universally dissatisfied. Two feelings animated every individual Italian—a desire for free government in the particular state to which he himself belonged, and a desire to see the Austrians driven out of Northern Italy, so that all Italy might be free from foreign dominion. In prosecution of these two objects —the overthrow of the separate native despotisms, and the expulsion of the Austrians—numerous conspiracies were formed, of greater or less extent, which it required all the vigilance of the different governments to crush. In the Neapolitan states, in the Papal States, in the smaller duchies, and in Piedmont, as well as in the Lombardo-

Venetian territories, hundreds of persons were every year arrested and sent to prison for political offences. At length, a formidable secret society was established among the Italians, with a view to combine the disaffected in all the states in one common effort against the native despots and the Austrians. The conspirators called themselves the 'Carbonari,' and their stronghold was in the Neapolitan states. The movement which took place in Naples and Sicily in 1820–21, was conducted by the Carbonari. This movement, however, having been unsuccessful, the Carbonari were obliged to continue their operations in secret for the next ten years. About the year 1831–2, however, Carbonarism was superseded by a new form of Italian patriotism, of a more energetic character. It arose in Piedmont, under the auspices of a number of Genoese youths, who organised themselves into a body called 'Young Italy.' The leader and founder of this new association was a young Genoese lawyer, named Joseph Mazzini. His view was, that the freedom of Italy, both from domestic and foreign tyranny, could only be attained by a union of all the separate states into one nation—Romans, Piedmontese, Tuscans, Neapolitans, Lombards, &c.—all merging their separate names in the one common name of Italians, and, under this name, forming a single powerful European nation. What should be the form of government of this united Italian nation—whether monarchical or republican—was to be determined by the course of events; but Mazzini's wish was for a republic. Meantime, he urged, the only way in which the union of Italy could be effected was by a general popular insurrection. The object of the 'Young Italy' association was to bring about such an insurrection. They very nearly succeeded. After months of secret plotting, a conspiracy was organised, which, from Genoa as a centre, spread through all Italy, from the Alps to the extremity of Sicily; even the officers and soldiers of the Piedmontese and Neapolitan armies were concerned in it; but, the conspiracy having been prematurely discovered, the Piedmontese government took steps for breaking it up. Many of the chief agents were arrested and put to death; others

escaped, and took refuge in France, Switzerland, and Great Britain (1833). From that time, no considerable attempt at insurrection was made; and the Austrians in Northern Italy, and the native dynasties throughout the rest of the peninsula, continued to rule by military force and the terrors of a secret-police system. The accession of Pope Pius IX. (1846), however, was hailed by the Italians as the dawn of a new day; and immense expectations were formed from the liberal acts of the first year of his pontificate.

404. SWITZERLAND.—As settled by the congress of Vienna in 1815, Switzerland consisted of twenty-two cantons, each sovereign in its own affairs, but all united for common purposes under a federal constitution. The general or federal diet was to meet once a year at least at Bern, Zurich, or Lucerne; it was to have the right of declaring war or concluding peace, of forming alliances, and of otherwise arranging the external relations of Switzerland, as well as of settling disputes between canton and canton; and the decrees of this diet were to be carried out by an executive council called the Vorort. This constitution remained in force without disturbance till 1830–31, when, in consequence of the revolution in France, Switzerland became the scene of political agitations, having for their object both a change in the federal constitution and the increase of the popular power in the several cantons. The agitations were so far successful, that in a good many of the cantons universal suffrage was adopted. In others, however, political rights remained in possession of the higher tax-payers, to the exclusion of the rest of the community. The only considerable incidents in the general history of Switzerland from that time till 1848, consisted in occasional disputes between the diet and foreign governments—more particularly those of Austria and Italy—respecting the asylum offered by the cantons to political refugees. As Switzerland afforded a refuge, whence these refugees could still act on the countries from which they had been driven, the despotic governments threatened its independence unless it consented to expel them. Accordingly, in 1834, 1836,

and subsequent years, many Italians and Poles were expelled from Switzerland.

405. DENMARK.—The history of Denmark from 1815 to 1848, presents hardly any event of importance. Pomerania, which had been ceded to Denmark by Sweden in 1814 in exchange for Norway (§ 312), was ceded, in turn, by Denmark to Prussia in exchange for the duchy of Lauenburg and a sum of money (1815). Thus the possessions of the Danish crown came to consist of the following parts:—Denmark Proper, including the mainland and the islands; the duchy of Schleswig; the duchy of Holstein; and the duchy of Lauenburg. In the two latter duchies, both of which, though belonging to the Danish crown, formed part of the German confederation, and were inhabited chiefly by Germans, the royal power was limited by national representative assemblies; but in Denmark Proper and Schleswig it remained absolute, according to the ancient fundamental law of 1665 till the year 1834, when a partial representative system was granted. Frederick VI., who had been king of Denmark since 1808, died in 1839, and was succeeded by Christian VIII. (1839–1848).

406. SWEDEN AND NORWAY.—Bernadotte, after having, as crown-prince, wielded the virtual sovereignty of Sweden for eight years—during which he had conducted Sweden safely through the last wars of Napoleon, and had increased her power by the acquisition of Norway—attained the full dignity of king on the death of Charles XIII., in 1818. He reigned over Sweden and Norway, with the title of Charles XIV., for twenty-six years (1818–1844), and was succeeded by his son, Oscar I., the present sovereign. The reign of Bernadotte was a period of prosperity both for Sweden and Norway. Both countries continued to be governed in accordance with their separate constitutions—Sweden, by the king and his ministers, in conjunction with a diet of four chambers, representing, respectively, the nobility, the clergy, the burghers, and the peasants of the kingdom, and meeting once every five years at Stockholm; and Norway, by the king and a separate ministry, in conjunction with a more democratic

parliament of 100, representing only the towns and the peasantry, meeting at Christiania. At the close of Bernadotte's reign, the commerce of Sweden was double what it had been in 1800.

407. RUSSIA.—The preponderance of Russia among the continental powers of Europe dates from 1815. Prior to the Napoleonian wars, indeed, Russia had, by adhering to the policy prescribed for her by Peter the Great, immensely increased her importance and the extent of her territories. The following is a list of her successive acquisitions, from the death of Peter the Great, in 1725, to the close of the eighteenth century:—The territory of Azof, on the Don, conquered from the Turks in 1736–9; part of Finland, conquered from Sweden in 1743; part of Poland, acquired by the first partition of that country in 1773; Crim-Tatary, or the Crimea, conquered in 1783, after it had for some time been independent of the Turks; a tract of territory west of the Dnieper, in 1792, extending the boundary of Russia in that direction to the Dniester, at the expense of the Turks; and, finally, in 1793 and 1795, two huge additional fragments of Poland. The most important of these acquisitions, it will be observed, were made during the reign of the Empress Catherine II. (1762–1796). The short reign of her son Paul (1796–1801) was distinguished by no event of especial consequence in Russian history; and the nature of his participation in the first war of the European powers against Napoleon has already been described (§ 247). It was reserved, however, as we have seen, for his son Alexander I. to guide the politics of Russia through the difficulties and confusions of the great Napoleonian wars. The peculiar character of this ruler enabled him to perform his part with great success. Under a mild and benevolent exterior, Alexander concealed a most resolute character, and a degree of cunning which obtained for him from his rival Napoleon the name of 'a Greek of the lower empire.' His first act, on his accession to the throne, was to break the alliance which his father had formed with Napoleon, and which had involved Russia in a war with Great Britain and the other powers of the coalition. Till the

year 1805, accordingly, Russia remained in a state of neutrality with respect to continental affairs, availing herself of the opportunity to extend her dominion in the direction of Asia, by incorporating Georgia, which had till then been under the protection of Persia and Turkey (1802). In 1805, however, Alexander joined the allies in their war against Napoleon, and not only assisted the Austrians and Prussians in their battles with the French troops, but also, under pretext of helping the common cause, began a separate war against Russia's hereditary enemy the Turks, then in alliance with France. Russian armies occupied Moldavia and Wallachia; and, had Alexander found it to be his interest to continue a member of the European coalition, there is no doubt that he would have prosecuted his conquests in Turkey still further. The triumphs of France over Austria and Prussia (1807), however, having induced Alexander to change his policy, and come to an understanding with Napoleon for sharing the empire of Europe between Paris and St Petersburg, the war with Turkey was allowed to languish, and, instead of it, war was declared against Britain and Sweden, as the common foes of France and Russia (1808). The war against Sweden was turned to account (§ 290), by the acquisition from that country of the important territories of Finland, East Bothnia, and Aland in the Baltic. The war with Turkey, however, though interrupted, had not ceased; and in 1810–12 it was carried on with such vigour, that, on the conclusion of a peace at Bucharest in 1812, Turkey ceded Bessarabia to the Russians, and thus established the river Pruth as the boundary between the two empires. The cause of this peace was the determination of Alexander once more to join the coalition against Napoleon; and during the three subsequent years, as we know (1812–15), the Russian emperor was the soul of the coalition, and the dictator in all their councils. He found time, however, during these eventful years, to bring to a conclusion a desultory war, in which Russia had been long engaged with Persia, and, in doing so, to add large territories beyond the Caucasus to the Russian dominions *(1813)*.

408. Alexander retained the high position in Europe which he had acquired in 1815, till his death in 1825. During these ten years, he engaged in no foreign wars, but occupied himself partly in the internal government of his two sovereignties, Russia and Poland, and partly in furthering over Europe, in conjunction with Austria and Prussia, the objects of the so-called Holy Alliance. At the successive congresses of the alliance for considering questions of European interest as they arose—namely, that of Aix-la-Chapelle (1815), that of Troppau (1820), that of Laybach (1821), and that of Verona (1822)—the Russian emperor acted as chief. But though thus forwarding, by every means in his power, the cause of absolute government abroad, at home Alexander pursued as liberal a system of government as was possible for an autocrat. He mitigated the severity of the old Russian laws, improved the condition of the serfs by new regulations, subjected the local governors to more effective control, encouraged agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, and particularly distinguished himself by his zeal for the education of his subjects. He established and endowed many schools, museums, and collections of works of art; and, though he maintained a censorship of the press, he allowed considerable freedom to Russian literature. Towards the end of his life, he became more fanatical, and began to govern more severely and despotically. He died at Taganrog, on the Sea of Azof, during a journey of inspection to that part of his dominions, and was succeeded by his youngest brother Nicholas (December 1, 1825), an arrangement having been made by which an intermediate brother, named Constantine, voluntarily surrendered his claims to the throne.

409. Nicholas was a man of as great abilities as his brother, but of a character far more fitted for the part of an absolute ruler. His energy was first displayed in suppressing an insurrection which broke forth in St Petersburg on his accession. From that time the Russians obeyed him with the most abject submission—the educated classes, partly from fear and habit, but the immense bulk of the people, from real veneration and affection for a man

in whom they saw their highest ideal of a Russian czar. From the very first, he proclaimed his rooted enmity to representative institutions and to the constitutional theory of government, and his determination not only never to permit the development of principles favourable to this kind of government in Russia, but also to make Russia the champion of the opposite system wherever her influence extended. He declared that, since the French Revolution of 1789, Western Europe had fallen into a state of infidelity in religion and of anarchy in politics, and that it was the 'mission' of Russia, as being the seat and stronghold of the orthodox Greek Church, and as being also the only country which had not been contaminated by revolutionary principles, to rectify this state of things by re-establishing reverence and order. Her instruments in doing so were ultimately to be her large and well-disciplined armies, whose military prowess had already been proved in the recent European wars. Nicholas anticipated the time when these armies would be able to march far beyond the Russian frontier, and to keep all Europe in terror. In the meantime, Russia was to rely on her moral influence, and on the skill of her trained diplomatic agents secretly working in every court and capital in Europe, and all keeping in view, as their one common end, the aggrandisement of Russia. The rise, among the Slavonian populations of Austria, of those theories of Pan-Slavism to which reference has already been made (§ 395), helped to give this self-aggrandising policy of Russia a new and powerful form. Catching up these theories, and turning them to its own account, the court of St Petersburg eagerly fostered the notion of a political Pan-Slavism under Russia. 'True,' said the Russian agents and writers everywhere, 'the Slavonian nations of Europe, now so broken up and ruled by separate masters, do constitute, by race, language, and destiny, one great people. That people, hitherto, has done little in the history of the world; but its day is fast coming. The Slavonians ought now to be drawing nearer together, cultivating the sense of their unity, and preparing for *united* action in Europe. But how can this be done,

except by a gradual crystallisation of the other Slavonians round the independent nucleus already afforded by Russia? Rally, therefore, ye Slavonians of Turkey, of Austria, of Prussia, round the czar of Russia as your natural master; take your secret orders from him; and so help to form a great Pan-Slavic empire, of which St Petersburg shall be the capital, of which the area shall be the whole of Eastern Europe, and which shall embrace 80,000,000 of men. Against a Pan-Slavic empire of 80,000,000, all, or nearly all, professing the Greek faith, what force shall be able to stand?' In the propagation of ideas like these, and in some attempts to give them practical effect, consisted the true external history of Russia during the first twenty-two years of the reign of Nicholas (1825–1848). The actual *events* of that history will be better narrated under the heads of Poland, Turkey, and Persia.

410. POLAND.—The history of the so-called 'kingdom of Poland,' set up by the congress of Vienna, was very brief. The Emperor Alexander so far redeemed his promise, as to grant to his new subjects of this kingdom a free constitution, which completely distinguished them from the populations included in the Russian Empire proper. This constitution, which was proclaimed in December 1815, consisted of 165 articles. It guaranteed to the Poles the maintenance of the Catholic faith as the national religion, with full toleration for all other sects; it secured liberty of the press, the inviolability of person and property, responsibility of ministers, freedom of parliamentary action, publicity of judicial proceedings, and the reservation of all posts and places, with some stated exceptions, for natives of the kingdom. The legislative initiative was to belong to the Russian emperors, acting, as kings of Poland, through the Polish ministry; but all measures might be discussed, and, if disapproved, rejected by the parliament. This parliament was to consist of two chambers—a chamber of seventy senators, nominated by the king for life; and a chamber of representatives, consisting of men of a certain amount of property, chosen by the suffrage of all citizens and country people possessing certain qualifications. Each successive emperor of Russia was to be

crowned at Warsaw as king of Poland, and was to swear fidelity to the constitution; and, during his absence from Poland, the government was to be carried on in his name by a viceroy or lieutenant acting in concert with ministers. In short, the kingdom of Poland was to be a pet little estate, so to speak, attached to the vast dominions of Russia, and yet kept distinct from them.

411. For a while, all went well. The Poles appreciated Alexander's kindness to them, and began to like him. The country was prosperous and orderly, and the parliament and the ministers had no cause for quarrel. On his part, Alexander seemed to be proud of the Poles, and of the results of constitutional government among them. Very soon, however, these prospects were overcast. The sentiment of their ancient nationality could not be extinguished among the Poles. They remembered the old days when they constituted one of the great nations of Europe, and they looked round among the masses of their fellow-countrymen who, though cherishing the same recollections, and equally Poles with themselves, were kept asunder by force under the absolute governments of Russia, Prussia, and Austria. 'We are but 4,000,000,' they said; 'whereas, if all our brother Poles were reunited to us, and Poland restored to its full dimensions, we should form a great nation of 20,000,000, occupying the whole of that wide continental isthmus which separates the Baltic from the Black Sea.' These feelings found vent in writings and songs, but would probably have sought no other immediate outlet, had not a change in the disposition and policy of Alexander increased the national irritation. It has been mentioned (§ 407) that, towards the close of his reign, Alexander became more fanatical and despotic in his manner of rule. The Poles experienced the effects of this change as well as the Russians. The liberty of the Polish press was first violated by a censorship (1819), and other infractions of the constitution followed. Russian troops were quartered in Poland, and paid out of the Polish revenues; illegal arrests took place; the diet was not convoked; and, in short, autocracy began to be substituted for constitutional government. The disaffection

roused by these circumstances among the Poles was increased a hundredfold by the personal demeanour of Alexander's brother, the Grand-duke Constantine, who acted as viceroy or lieutenant of the kingdom. A man of uncouth and ferocious manners, and of questionable sanity, Constantine outraged the feelings of the Poles by a thousand insults, and quartered his soldiery among them without regard to law or form. The consequence was, that he was universally detested, and that even Alexander was, during the last five years of his reign, hated as a tyrant.

412. The accession of Nicholas (1825) made matters worse. Inheriting his brother's quarrel with the Poles, he determined to finish it. He continued the savage Constantine in his place as viceroy, and supported him in all his proceedings. He convened one diet, and, having come to a rupture with it, never called another. The Poles were goaded into rebellion. A vast conspiracy was organised, and it was resolved that, on the first opportunity, there should be a national insurrection. For various reasons, however, the rising did not take place till November 1830—four months after the French Revolution of July, and when the impulse given to the revolutionary cause in Europe by that event was nearly exhausted. On the 29th of that month, the students and other young men of Warsaw rose in revolt, and attempted to seize the Grand-duke Constantine. The grand-duke escaped, but the insurrection became general. Chlopicki, a Polish officer of distinction, was made commander-in-chief of the insurgent army, and the Russians were driven out of the kingdom. Chlopicki, and other influential Poles, then entered into negotiations with Nicholas, with a view to obtain a redress of the national grievances without further warfare. The reply of Nicholas was, that the Poles must surrender unconditionally to his clemency, and that he would never treat with revolted subjects. The Poles then formally renounced their allegiance to him, declared the dynasty of the Romanofs in Poland to be at an end, and set up a provisional government under the presidency of Prince Adam Czartoriski. Next spring (1831), Russian

armies, under the command of Diebitch and Paskievitch, invaded Poland; and battle after battle was fought, in which the Poles shewed their accustomed valour. The overwhelming numbers of the Russians, however, aided by the irresolution of some of the chief Polish generals, brought the campaign to a close after seven months of hard fighting; and Poland lay at the mercy of Nicholas. He exacted a terrible vengeance. Poland was declared to have forfeited its independence, and was incorporated, without distinction, in the general body of the Russian Empire; thousands of the insurgents were drafted into the Russian armies, or sent to Siberia; and many more were driven from Poland, to spend the rest of their lives, as homeless and destitute exiles, in whatever land would afford them a shelter (1831).

413. All that remained now of the arrangements of the congress of Vienna with respect to Poland, was the insignificant little republic of Cracow. Its existence was protracted till 1846, when Nicholas made arrangements with the Austrian government for its suppression, permitting Austria to appropriate it. Thus, a second time was every trace of Poland obliterated from the map of Europe. As on previous occasions, much sympathy was expressed by the liberal powers of Europe for the dispossessed Poles; but the governments did not think themselves called upon to interfere in any active manner.

414. TURKEY.—The great fact in the modern history of Turkey has been the growing ascendancy of Russian power in its internal affairs, accompanied by the increasing encroachments of the same power on its territorial limits. This ascendancy of Russia in Turkish affairs dates from the peace of Kutchuk-Kainardji, in 1774 (§ 173). The sultan during whose reign it was established was Abdul-Hamed I. (1773–1789). A weak and indolent man, he was unable to cope with such an adversary as Catherine. But when, nine years after the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, Catherine gave further evidence of her ambition by seizing the Crimea and annexing it to Russia by a ukase (1783), contrary to the provisions of that treaty, the feeling excited among the Turks was such, that Abdul-Hamed was

obliged to go to war. This war, which began in 1787, was in progress when the first French revolution broke out. In order to carry it on with greater effect, the Russian empress had concluded an alliance with the Austrian emperor, Joseph II.; and the Turks had to contend in the field with the armies both of Russia and Austria. The war was continued after the death of Abdul-Hamed by his nephew and successor Selim III., but with such small success, that, but for the interference of Britain, Prussia, and Sweden, Turkey would probably have been dismembered. On the remonstrances of these foreign powers, a peace between Turkey and Austria was concluded at Szistowa in 1791, and a separate peace between Turkey and Russia, at Jassy, in 1792. By the first peace, the Turks ceded nothing to Austria; but by the peace of Jassy, they ceded to Russia the territory on the northern shore of the Black Sea, lying between the Bug and the Dniester, besides acknowledging the claim of Russia to keep the Crimea.

415. Selim III. (1789–1807) was a man of ability, and of more liberal ideas than the majority of Turkish sultans, and, as soon as the war with Austria and Russia was concluded, he turned his attention to measures of internal reform. He revised and remodelled the political divisions of the Turkish Empire, with a view to their better administration; he reorganised the Turkish army, so as to assimilate it more to the armies of the Christian powers; and he introduced changes into the system of taxation. These reforms provoked much opposition among the more bigoted Turks. There were troubles in Syria and in Egypt; and two of the European pachas—Paswan Oghlu, pacha of Widdin, and the more famous Ali Pacha of Janina—became virtually independent. It was while the empire was thus situated, that Bonaparte (§ 235) conceived the idea of ruining the commerce of Britain by taking possession of Egypt. This led to a war between the Porte and France (1798–1802), in which Britain and Russia assisted the Porte. It was by the peace concluded with Bonaparte in 1802, that the sultan first ceded to the French the right of navigating the Black Sea. The

influence acquired after this by the French at Constantinople, led the coalesced powers of Europe to regard Turkey as an ally of France; and Alexander of Russia took the opportunity so afforded of again declaring war against the Porte (1806). The British also joined in the war, and a British fleet forced the passage of the Dardanelles, and threatened Constantinople; while the Russian armies invaded Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Wallachia. The Russians were so successful, that the Turks began to complain that the changes introduced by the sultan into the organisation of the army had made that army useless. The Janizaries, who formed the strength of the old Turkish army, and who hated the innovations, rose in revolt, and besieged Selim in his seraglio; and the mufti, or supreme spiritual and juridical dignitary of the empire, declared that Selim had forfeited his throne. He was accordingly deposed, and was succeeded by his cousin, Mustapha IV., one of the sons of Abdul-Hamed I.

416. This sultan reigned but a few months (1807–1808). Though he abolished the offensive reforms of his predecessor, the Russians were none the less victorious in their battles against the Turks; so that when the pacha of Rustchuk raised an army of insurgents, and demanded his deposition and the restoration of Selim, the sultan had no party on whom he could depend. Mustapha, however, had taken the precaution to have his rival Selim murdered during the revolt; and the insurgent pacha was obliged to place on the throne a younger brother of Mustapha, named Mahmoud II., who had been a personal friend of Selim. A second revolt of the Janizaries in favour of Mustapha followed; and the bold pacha, in order to leave the empire safe to Mahmoud II., caused Mustapha to be murdered, and then blew himself up in the seraglio which the Janizaries were besieging.

417. Mahmoud II., to whom it thus fell to govern the Turkish Empire when it seemed on the brink of ruin from external attacks and internal convulsions, was one of the most extraordinary men that Turkey has produced. His reign of thirty-two years (1808–1840) forms an era in Turkish history. He signalised his accession by some

cruel acts, intended to secure his own power by the removal of possible rivals among his near relatives; but such acts had been too common in previous reigns to excite any horror among the Turks. He then turned his attention to the management of the war against the Russians, who had by this time penetrated into Turkey as far as the mountain-range of the Balkan. A peace concluded with Britain (1809), whose alliance with Russia had already been broken by Alexander's change of policy, enabled him to devote his entire energies to the task of driving back the Russians. The Turks gained many successes, and the Russians retreated across the Danube. Revolts, however, having broken out in many of the provinces, Mahmoud saw the necessity of concluding the Russian war, even at some sacrifice; and a peace was concluded at Bucharest in 1812, by which Turkey ceded to Russia the whole of Bessarabia, thus establishing the Pruth and the mouths of the Danube as the boundaries between the two empires.

418. Thus released from the cares of the Russian war, Mahmoud had leisure to glance round over his empire. It was in a most distracted condition. 1. The important province of Servia, situated in the north of European Turkey, on the frontiers of the Austrian Empire, and inhabited almost exclusively by a Slavonian population, had been in revolt since 1804, when the Servians, headed by a brave leader, named George Petrovitch, or Black George, had risen against their Turkish masters. Various armies, under neighbouring Turkish pachas, had been sent to suppress the revolt; but the Servians had defeated them, and at last, taking possession of Belgrade, had formally renounced their allegiance to the Porte, and set up a government of their own, with Black George as president (1807). Fresh efforts had been made to recover the province thus lost; and Mahmoud had even offered, during the Russian war, to acknowledge George as hospodar of Servia, on condition that the Servians would admit Turkish garrisons into the country. 2. Paswan Oghlu, pacha of Widdin, still maintained his independence in the country east of Servia, and bordering the Danube.

3. Ali Pacha was independent in the Epirus, and threatened to wrest all the Greek provinces from the sway of the sultan. 4. Several of the Asiatic pachas—more particularly those of Damascus, St Jean d'Acre, Aleppo, and Latakia in Syria, of Trebizond on the Black Sea, and of Baghdad—had imitated the insurgent European pachas, and set up as independent rulers. 5. In Egypt, a power was growing up, which, though nominally subject to the sultan, threatened one day to prove formidable to his rule in the East. Until the time of the invasion of this country by the French (1798), it had been governed, under a pacha nominated by the sultans, by the military aristocracy of the Mamelukes (§ 242). When the French had been expelled from Egypt (1802), the Mamelukes recovered their power in that country, nominally subject as before to the Turkish pachas. The attempts of the pachas to make the authority of their master the sultan more real than it had yet been in Egypt, led to much strife and bloodshed. At length, however, a man was appointed to the pachalic of Egypt who was more than a match for the Mamelukes. This was Mehemet or Mohammed Ali, a Turkish adventurer, who had risen from the lowest station by his military talents. Mehemet completely broke the power of the Mamelukes, and at last (1811) caused a number of their chiefs to be massacred at Cairo, where he had treacherously assembled them as if to be present at an entertainment. From that time, Egypt was entirely under the command of Mehemet; and, though he professed to govern only as the servant of the sultan, it was known that his ambition would not long be satisfied with a merely subordinate authority.

419. Such was the state of the Turkish Empire when Mahmoud II. undertook to settle and reorganise it. Aided by several ministers whose views resembled his own, he began a series of reforms of a most important character. Many offices about the person of the sultan were abolished, so as to consolidate the power in his hands; and such offices as remained were regulated more after the fashion of European courts. The army was, in like manner, organised on the European model, as proposed by Selim III.

—the turbulent Janizaries, who had hitherto opposed the reform, being exterminated or disbanded. Schools were founded for the instruction of the Turkish youth in the various departments of European practical science. Altogether, Mahmoud displayed a liberality, a freedom from prejudice, and a disposition to adopt changes, such as few sultans had before exhibited. He seemed thoroughly to have realised the fact, that it was only by a vigorous course of political and administrative reform, persevered in against all opposition on the part of the fanatical and old-fashioned Turks, with the interpreters of the Koran at their backs, that Turkey could be saved from falling into ruin spontaneously, or being dismembered by Russia. His attempts, however, to restore order in the revolted provinces were only in part successful. After some fighting, he succeeded in driving George Petrovitch into Austria, where he died, and in reducing the Servians to subjection (1813); but a new insurgent chief having arisen in the person of Milosch Obrenovitch, a Servian waywode, the rebellion was renewed; and it was not till the sultan consented to allow to the Servians the full administration of their own affairs, that they, on their side, consented to receive a pacha, and to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Porte. An arrangement to this effect was made; and since that time Servia, though nominally a province of the Ottoman Empire, with a Turkish pacha and a small garrison resident in Belgrade, has been in reality an independent European state, managing its own affairs under a constitution prepared by itself, and having no further responsibility to the Porte than the payment to the resident pacha of a certain fixed annual tribute. Against the revolted European and Asiatic pachas, Mahmoud was more successful. Ali Pacha, indeed, continued his career of virtual independence till 1822, when he was defeated by Curchid Pacha of the Morea, and his power broken up.

420. It was precisely when the effects of Mahmoud's abilities as a ruler were beginning to be seen in various parts of the Turkish Empire, that there broke out in one part of that empire an insurrection in which Europe took a far greater interest than in that of the Servians. This

was the celebrated Greek or Hellenic insurrection. Though subject to the Turks for several centuries, the Greeks inhabiting the classic lands and islands of the Ægean had never ceased to remember the days of their independence. Still speaking the Greek language, and still, even under the Turks, shewing their intellectual subtlety as traders and officials, they began to be conscious of their power as a separate element of the Turkish Empire, and to speculate whether, in the then decrepit and disorganised state of that empire, they might not, by a bold effort, throw off the Turkish yoke, and reappear as a free Greek nation in their ancient and proper region of Greece. These ideas at length took practical effect in the Morea, or Peloponnesus. The Greeks, rising there, expelled the Turks (1820). The Greek populations beyond the Morea caught the enthusiasm; and secret societies, called Hetæriæ, were instituted over all the Greek lands, with a view to organise a more general movement. When the news of this insurrection spread over Europe, an extraordinary sympathy was roused everywhere in behalf of the insurgents. The patriotism of the ancient Athenians, Thebans, and Spartans, seemed to have reappeared in their descendants; and there was not a scholar, nor a man of sensitive mind, in Britain, France, or Germany, that did not exult in the idea that the Greeks were about to deliver themselves from the thraldom of their barbarian and Mohammedan masters. The poet Byron expressed this general feeling of Europe in some of his finest poems; and he himself died in Greece, whither he had gone with a view to take a more active part in the revolution than he could do merely at a distance and with his pen (1824). In short, all the educated men in Europe were seized with what was called the Philhellenic fever. In no country, however, was Philhellenism so strong as in Russia. The inhabitants of that country regarded the Greeks not only as the descendants of the classic Greeks of old, but also as their own co-religionists—the adherents of that Greek or Eastern Church of which the Russian Church was the daughter; and they looked upon the efforts of the Greeks *to assert* their independence of the Turks, as an attempt of

the mother to become reunited to the daughter, so as once more to form of the Eastern Church one great association, of which Moscow should be the centre, until Russia should have extended her sway to Constantinople. The Russian court was actuated by similar feelings, it being a standing maxim in the policy of this court to foment discords among the populations subject to Turkey, so as to make that empire crumble to pieces. Russia had taken a great interest in the Servian revolution, and even the patriotic rising of the Greeks was in part stimulated by Russian agents.

421. The Porte made every exertion to subdue the Greek patriots. Turkish armies fought with the Greeks by land, and Turkish fleets attacked their ships and coasts. The Greeks, however, fought with such obstinacy, that the Porte was obliged to apply to the pacha of Egypt for the assistance of his disciplined troops, which, accordingly, invaded the Peloponnesus. The war now assumed such an aspect, and was attended with such horrors and excesses, that the European powers felt themselves called upon to interfere. The Porte refused their offers of negotiation; and, in consequence, the allied fleets of Britain, France, and Russia, appeared off the coast of the Peloponnesus to protect the Greeks. An accidental circumstance led to a collision between these fleets and the entire Ottoman navy, including an Egyptian fleet of ninety-two sail which was bringing reinforcements under Ibrahim Pacha, the son of Mehemet Ali; and on the 20th of October 1827, was fought the celebrated naval battle of Navarino, the result of which was, that the Turkish armament was totally destroyed, and that the Turkish and Egyptian forces were forced to evacuate the Morea. The independence of Greece, or, at least, of that part of it which had been concerned in the revolt, was thus secured; and the Greeks, assembling in patriotic congress in order to arrange their affairs, constituted themselves into a separate state, and invited John Capodistrias, a native of Corfu, who had served with distinction as a political agent of Russia, to be their president (1828).

422. The Porte declared war against the three interfering

powers. In point of fact, however, the war was, in the main, one between Turkey and Russia. Two campaigns closed the war. In the first (1828), the Russians did not accomplish much; but in the second (1829), the Russian Field-marshal Diebitch defeated the Turks at Shumla, advanced beyond the Balkans as far as Adrianople, took that town, and sent forward his skirmishers, the Cossacks, to within sight of Constantinople itself. Field-marshal Paskievitch was simultaneously advancing into Asiatic Turkey; and, as Mahmoud was threatened by a revolt of his own subjects in Constantinople, he was persuaded by the British government, who, with the French, were already alarmed at the prospect of a Russian conquest of Turkey, to accept such terms as could be obtained for him. Accordingly, a peace was concluded at Adrianople (1829), by which the Porte ceded to Russia certain districts in the region of the Caucasus, together with the fortress of Anapa, on the eastern coast of the Black Sea; at the same time agreeing to pay an indemnity to Russia, to recognise the independence of Greece, to guarantee the virtual independence of Servia as then existing, and to allow Moldavia and Wallachia in a similar manner to have a separate administration under the protectorate of Russia.

423. At the conclusion of this war between Russia and Turkey, the European powers made definite arrangements with the Porte respecting the new state of GREECE. At a conference, held in London in 1830, the limits of this state were settled very much as they have since remained, the entire population of the three parts of which it consisted—namely, Northern Greece, the Peloponnesus, and the islands—not amounting to more than 800,000. Guarantees were given and taken for the future independence of this little state under the constitution which it had adopted. That constitution, however, was not fitted to be permanent. Serious disputes arose among the Greeks respecting their mode of government, and the president Capodistrias made himself very unpopular by the tyrannical nature of his rule. The people, declaring that the government of the Turks had not been so exacting or vexatious, rose in revolt in various places; and, on the 8th of October

1831, Capodistrias was assassinated. The country was now a prey to civil war, and the European powers thought it best to form the new state into a kingdom, and to confer the crown on a prince of some existing royal house. Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg having declined the honour, Otho, a younger son of the king of Bavaria, was chosen for the purpose; and the Greeks having accepted him, he landed in Greece in February 1833. He was then a minor; but in 1835 he attained his full age, and since that time he has ruled in Greece as a constitutional sovereign, assisted by a senate and a house of representatives. In 1837, he married a daughter of the Grand-duke of Oldenburg. The condition of Greece during his reign has been by no means so prosperous as was anticipated. There have been almost incessant quarrels between the government and the local chiefs; and the whole economical system of the state has been such as to prevent both the fine natural talents of the people and the rich capabilities of the country from being fairly developed. The influence of Russia has also been all along paramount at the Greek court.

424. It seemed to be destined that Mahmoud's reign should be marked by misfortunes to the Ottoman Empire. Scarcely were the troubles of the Greek revolution of 1820–29, and of the Russian war to which it gave rise, over, when the Porte was involved in new broils with many of the pachas both of European and Asiatic Turkey. None of these was so important as that with Mehemet Ali, pacha of Egypt. The ambition of this able man, under whose government Egypt had become a state of considerable consequence, and whose powerful army of native Egyptians and Arabs, commanded by Osmanli officers, enabled him, as we have seen, to assist the Porte rather as an ally than as a vassal, led in 1831 to a decisive rupture between him and his nominal lord. Syria was the scene of this warfare between the armies of the Porte and those of the pacha. The latter were victorious; and in 1832, Ibrahim Pacha led the forces of his father through Asia Minor to within a short distance of Constantinople. At this juncture, the Russian Emperor Nicholas, whose

own designs upon Turkey were likely to be injured if the Egyptian pacha should possess himself of the throne of the sultans, interfered in behalf of the Porte. A Russian army was sent to Asia Minor by sea, and Ibrahim was checked in his victorious progress. As a recompense to Russia for this timely assistance, the Porte, by the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi (1833), engaged to close the Dardanelles against the fleets of any power at war with Russia, even when allowing a free passage to the Russian fleets. This treaty, which greatly enhanced the influence of Russia over the Turkish Empire, gave umbrage to the other European powers, and was somewhat modified by subsequent arrangements. The remainder of Mahmoud's reign was spent in the prosecution of his schemes of administrative reform. He died in 1840, and was succeeded by his son Abdul-Medjid, the present sultan.

425. Before Sultan Mahmoud's death, a second war had broken out between the Porte and Mehemet Ali; and the conduct of this war was the first business of Abdul-Medjid's reign. As before, the Egyptians were victorious; and it was only by the interference of Russia, in conjunction with Britain, Austria, and Prussia, that the conquest of Turkey by the pacha was prevented. An allied fleet, chiefly British, took Beyrout and St Jean d'Acre (1840); Ibrahim Pacha was obliged to evacuate Syria, which was restored to the Porte; and Mehemet Ali was guaranteed possession of Egypt as a hereditary sovereignty, on condition of his paying to the sultan an annual tribute, in acknowledgment of his nominal dependence (1841).

426. The Turkish Empire, as at present constituted, consists of about twenty-seven eyalets or provinces—of which four are in Europe, and the rest in Asia—besides the vassal-states or dependencies of Egypt, Tunis, Tripoli, in Africa; and Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia, in Europe. Each eyalet is governed under the sultan by a pacha, and is divided into sanjaks or subordinate districts, the commanders of which are likewise called pachas. The pachas are nominated by the sultan, who, in this as in all other matters, acts by the advice of his council or ministry, named the Sublime Porte, and consisting of the

Grand Vizier; the Kiaya-bey, or minister of home affairs; the Reis-effendi, or minister of foreign affairs; and other officials. The commander-in-chief of the Turkish forces is called the Seraskier. The authority of the sultan and the Porte is nominally absolute, but is considerably limited, in fact, by that of the mufti and the ulemas. The mufti is the spiritual patriarch of the empire; and it belongs to him and his subordinates, the ulemas, or wise men, to decide whether any act of the Porte is in conformity with the Koran, as the fundamental law of the state. Hence the Porte, before declaring war, concluding peace, or engaging in any measure of importance, must consult the mufti and the ulemas, and procure a fetwa, or decree, of this college of jurists, pronouncing the intended measure to be valid; and if this is neglected, and an insurrection occurs, it is in the power of the mufti and the ulemas to declare the insurrection to be legal. The cadis or judges of the empire, and the professors of science and other educational functionaries, are subject to the mufti. This division of authorities gives rise to much confusion. Even in Constantinople itself, there are frequent collisions between the Porte and its subjects; while in the distant provinces it is always possible for the pachas to govern according to their own pleasure. The real cause of the anarchy which has long prevailed in the Turkish Empire, however, is its heterogeneous composition. Its entire population, including Egypt, amounts to about 26,000,000, of whom about 8,000,000 are in European Turkey, about 13,000,000 in Asiatic Turkey, and the remainder in Africa. Of these 26,000,000, only about 2,000,000 or 3,000,000 consist of Turks proper: these form the ruling race; and the remainder consists of Greeks, Slavonians, Arabs, Tatars, and other races, possessing the various parts of the empire before the Turkish conquest. An immense proportion of these subject-populations are Christians, either of the Greek or the Latin Church; but many, like their Turkish masters, are Mohammedans. Till recently, the Christians of Turkey were subject to many disadvantages, as compared with the Mohammedans; and still, notwithstanding the reforms in their favour introduced by the late and the

present sultan, they are not on a footing of legal equality with the believers of the Koran. On the whole, however, the Turks are tolerant masters; and the backward state of the East under their rule, is owing rather to their intellectual stolidity and natural aversion to change their system of government, than to any disposition to be unnecessarily severe or despotic under that system.

427. Asiatic Countries of the East.—The political divisions of Asia, exclusive of those parts of the continent which are comprehended in the Russian and Turkish Empires, are Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan and Beloochistan, Independent Tatary, Hindostan, the Eastern Peninsula, and the Chinese and Japanese Empires. 1. Arabia.—The historical connections of Arabia with the rest of the world at present, are very slight. The parts of the great Arabian region which border on the Turkish, the Egyptian, and the Persian dominions, are considered by the powers of these countries as belonging to them; but the region, as a whole, is inhabited by independent Arab communities, thinly scattered over its interior and its coasts; while in some parts, wandering tribes roam about, according to the ancient patriarchal custom, with their flocks and their tents, under the command of hereditary sheiks. 2. Persia.—As has been mentioned in a previous chapter (§ 173), the death of the great Nadir Shah, in 1747, had left Persia in a most distracted condition; not only greatly reduced in extent by the revolt of the Afghans, who set up as an independent power, but also a prey to internal anarchy, in consequence of the disputes of rival adventurers for the throne. It was during this period of distraction that Russia began her encroachments upon Persia, advancing her armies southwards along the western shores of the Caspian, till at last, by intrigues among the populations in and near the Caucasus, she acquired the protectorate of nearly the whole isthmus between the Black Sea and the Caspian (1783). At length, in 1795, a chief named Aga Mohammed established himself as shah of Persia, and made Teheran his capital. He was succeeded by his nephew, Shah Futteh Ali, who reigned from 1797 to 1834; and he again by his grandson,

the present shah, Mohammed. The first efforts of this dynasty were to drive back the Russians, and recover Georgia and other provinces which they had seized. These efforts, however, failed; and two wars, carried on by the Russians against the Persians, have not only confirmed the previous Russian encroachments, but have entirely subjected Persia to Russian influence. The first war was carried on by the Emperor Alexander of Russia; it lasted from 1804 to 1814; and it was concluded by a peace, called the Peace of Gulistan, by which Persia permanently ceded to Russia all the countries belonging to Persia which the Russian armies had already occupied—namely, Mingrelia, Imeretia, Georgia, Ganja, Karabagh, Sheki, Shirvan, Daghestan, Baku, and parts of Moghan and Talish. The second war, which grew out of a dispute respecting these ceded lands, was carried on by the Emperor Nicholas from 1826 to 1828, and was terminated by the Peace of Turkmanchai, by which Persia ceded Erivan and other additional territories, extending the Russian frontier to the Araxes. Thus the whole Caucasian isthmus, lying between the Black Sea and the Caspian, came to be included in the Russian Empire—the part of that isthmus north of the Caucasus, and properly belonging to Europe, being regarded as a part of that empire under the name of Circassia; while the part south of the Caucasus, and therefore properly Asiatic, is included in that empire under the general name of Georgia. In Georgia, the native chiefs are tolerably steady in their allegiance to Russia; but the Circassians have long maintained a desperate struggle in behalf of their independence. Meanwhile, at the Persian court, Russian influence is paramount. In 1838, the shah, stimulated by Russian agents, led an expedition against Herat, with a view to the conquest of Afghanistan; and, if this expedition had succeeded, the Russians would have been able, by means of the Persians, to menace the British Empire in India. The expedition failed; but, since that time, there has been a hostile feeling on the part of Persia towards Great Britain.

3. AFGHANISTAN AND BELOOCHISTAN.—These two states, if such a name may be given to what are really aggregations

of tribes loosely cohering round two centres, formerly constituted Eastern Persia, but have been separate from Persia since the death of Nadir Shah (1747), when Ahmed Shah, an officer in Nadir's service, set up as an independent monarch in Cabul. Under him and his successors, the Afghans and Beloochees have maintained their independence of Persia, between which power and India they form a convenient barrier. The attempt made by the present shah of Persia in 1838 to conquer the Afghans, has been already referred to. In 1839, there was a dispute as to the succession to the throne of Cabul, which led to the interference of the British in behalf of one of the claimants. The British invaded the country, and took possession of Cabul; but in the following year the Afghans rose against them, and 4500 British soldiers lost their lives. A subsequent invasion in 1842 overpowered the Afghans; but the British, content with this, evacuated the country. Since that time there has been, on the whole, a good understanding between the British and the Afghans, arising from their common interest in preventing the eastward progress of the Russians and the Persians. 4. TATARY.—In the great region of Tatary or Turkestan, lying east of the Caspian, and north of Persia and Afghanistan, and occupied by separate populations of the Turkish or Tatar stock, each governed despotically by its own khan, the chief historical fact is the growing influence of Russia. It is calculated, that within the last century, Russia has gradually extended her frontier into this region, so as to have in that time acquired from the Tatars a territory equal in extent to Turkey in Europe, Greece, Italy, and Spain, taken together; and the Russians are at present the only foreign power feared or recognised by the independent Tatar khans of Bokhara, Khiva, &c. 5. HINDOSTAN.—With the exception of the independent states of Nepaul and Bootan, on the southern slope of the Himalayas, and some small colonies of the French and the Portuguese, the whole of this vast peninsula is now politically subject to the British—either directly, as being included in the three presidencies over which the *British* governor-general exercises the supreme authority;

or indirectly, in the form of protected states, where resident British agents act as advisers of the native sovereigns. There are some ten or twelve such states; but their histories are all involved in that of British India—which history, again, is part of the general history of the British Empire. 6. THE EASTERN PENINSULA.—The parts of this peninsula, called also India beyond the Ganges, not subject to the British, are Burmah, Siam, the Malay States, Cochin China, and Laos, all of which are subject to pure Asiatic despotisms. 7. THE CHINESE EMPIRE.—The chief recent event in the history of this vast empire—consisting of *China Proper*, and the dependencies of *Manchooria*, *Mongolia*, *Chinese Tatary*, *Tibet*, and the *Corea*—was the war with Great Britain in 1839–42. This war originated in the determination of the Chinese government to arrest the traffic between its subjects and the British, and especially the traffic in opium. There had been frequent disputes on this subject between the Chinese officials and the British representatives at Canton, when, in 1839, the Chinese commissioner Lin seized a number of the resident British merchants, and destroyed opium found in British ships to the amount of £2,000,000 sterling. To avenge this outrage, the British government sent a fleet and troops to invade the Chinese coasts, and after a short war, in which the superiority of British military science over Chinese skill was abundantly shewn, the Chinese emperor was glad to purchase peace (August 29, 1842), by agreeing to pay an indemnity of 21,000,000 dollars, to open five of his ports to the commerce of Europe, and to cede Hong-Kong to the British. Since that time, we have been able to know somewhat more than formerly of the events occurring within the bosom of Chinese society, and forming, so to speak, a huge history by itself —a history of 350,000,000 of men, living under a curious civilisation of their own, and dissociated since the earliest ages from the rest of the world. At the present time, there is going on a strange revolution in China, tending to social changes, and to the subversion of the existing dynasty. It is said that Russian influence is also making itself felt in Tibet, Chinese Tatary, Mongolia, and other

dependencies of China; and as there is an overland communication between the capitals of the two empires, there is no doubt that the Russians have facilities for acting on China not possessed by any other power. 8. JAPAN.—Of this empire very little is known, the Japanese living under a curious civilisation of their own, and holding hardly any intercourse with other nations. Recently, the Americans and French have compelled them to receive the visits of their ships.

428. In order to complete our survey of the state of the world from 1789 to 1848, it is necessary to extend our regards to the two great continents of Africa and America, whose histories have hitherto been noticed only incidentally in connection with those of the European and Asiatic countries.

429. AFRICA.—For historical purposes, Africa may be considered as consisting of the following divisions:—European colonies and settlements; Mohammedan states and possessions; native negro and other kingdoms, and aggregations of tribes. I. EUROPEAN COLONIES AND SETTLEMENTS.—These are as follows:—*The British possessions*, including the Cape of Good Hope, and a number of establishments on points along the western coast, such as Bathurst, Sierra Leone, Cape Coast, &c., together with St Helena, Ascension, the Mauritius, and other islands, on both sides of the continent; the *French possessions*, including Algeria, posts on the Senegal and Gambia coasts, the districts of St Louis and Goree, the islands of Bourbon and St Marie, and one or two others; the *Spanish possessions*, including the Canary Islands, and some small districts on the northern coast opposite Gibraltar; the *Portuguese possessions*, once numerous and extensive, but now reduced to the islands of Madeira, Cape Verd, &c., one or two posts on the western coast, and a chain of settlements on the eastern coast, in and north of the Mozambique Channel; the *Dutch possessions*, limited to one or two posts on the Gold Coast; and the *Danish possessions*, also limited to one or two posts on the same coast. To these may be added the colony of *Liberia*, on the west coast, founded

by an American society for the purpose of affording a field where negro emigrants from the United States might associate together as an independent negro community, and, at the same time, promote the cause of African civilisation. II. MOHAMMEDAN STATES.—The following are the more important of these:—1. *Egypt*, governed nominally as a dependency of the Ottoman Empire by a Turkish pacha, but in reality an independent sovereignty. The inhabitants consist of Copts, or descendants of the ancient Egyptians—who retain from their ancestors a corrupted form of the Christian religion, and have a patriarch of their own—and Arabs and Turks, who are Mohammedans, and much more numerous than the Copts. Ascending the Nile from Egypt, the traveller reaches Nubia, and beyond that Abyssinia, both of which countries may be considered as attached to Egypt. In Nubia, the Copts, or relics of the old Egyptians, are more numerous than in Egypt; but Arabs and Turks are also numerous, and, since 1821, when Mehemet Ali conquered the Nubian chiefs, the country has been subject to the Egyptian pachas. Abyssinia is almost an unknown land; Arabs and Jews form a part of the population; but the majority are Christians, driven thither by the successive conquests of Mohammedans, and they acknowledge the Coptic patriarch of Egypt as their chief. 2 and 3. *Tunis* and *Tripoli*. These two states, once a part of the great Arabic Empire of the caliphs, and, subsequently, of the Turkish Empire, are now, like Egypt, only slenderly connected with the Ottoman power, being governed, the first by a hereditary bey, the other by a pacha. 4. *Morocco*. West of the French colony of Algiers, and including a considerable portion of the Barbary coast of Africa and of the interior, is the so-called empire of Morocco, governed by a sultan tracing his descent from the prophet Mohammed. Many of the Moorish tribes of Northern Africa regard the sultan of Morocco as the true head of Mohammedanism. His government is of the most despotic and ferocious character. 5. Besides the foregoing distinct states, many other parts of Africa, between Barbary and the Great Desert, and also along the

eastern coast—including Madagascar and other islands of that coast—are under the rule of Mohammedan sultans of Arab descent, or of native African chiefs professing Mohammedanism. III. NEGRO KINGDOMS, &c.—The interior of Africa south of the Great Desert is filled with hosts of tribes, under various names, but chiefly either pure negroes, or negroes with an Arabic intermixture, consolidated in some places into kingdoms or sovereignties, but in others loose and totally barbarous. On the west coast are the negro kingdoms of Dahomey, Ashantee, Benin, &c., perfectly negro and pagan; nearer the Great Desert, and partly Mohammedan, are the kingdoms of Houssa, Timbuctoo, Bambarra, &c.

430. Intimately connected with the recent history of Africa as a whole, and, in fact, forming the chief feature of interest in that history, is the slave-trade. From time immemorial, slavery was a domestic institution among the native Africans, every tribe making slaves of such captives taken in war with its neighbours as it did not kill or sacrifice. When the Arabs invaded Eastern and Northern Africa, they found this practice universal, and, being themselves accustomed to slavery, they not only kept it up in the African countries they conquered, but also exported negro slaves from these countries to the other parts of their empire, and more particularly to Persia, Syria, Asia Minor, and the rest of the East. In a similar manner, when the Portuguese and Spaniards began to trade with Western and Eastern Africa, negro slaves became a portion of the merchandise which they brought away with them in exchange for their wares. The European traffic in such slaves, however, was small until the Spaniards shewed the example of transporting them to their West Indian colonies, there to perform that labour in the fields and mines which the colonists required, and of which the native American Indians were found incapable. From that time, the demand for negro slaves increased enormously. Every European power which had colonies in America kept up a regular trade with Africa, in order to procure slaves for exportation to [redacted] colonies. The effects on native African society were

immense. Negro chiefs and tribes dwelling near the coasts not only sold their own spare slaves to the Spanish, Portuguese, British, Dutch, and French captains of ships who trafficked with them, but, when these were insufficient, undertook wars and expeditions against the inland tribes and nations, in order to procure captives whom they might sell. These tribes and nations, again, found it their interest to partake in the trade, and procured supplies of slaves from nations nearer the interior; and thus ultimately a regular system was established, extending from the coasts to the very centre of Africa. Slaves purchased, kidnapped, or procured by war in the interior, were collected in gangs, and made to march down to the coasts, carrying other merchandise, such as ivory, oil, and teak-wood on their shoulders; at the coasts, they were sold, along with their burdens, to European dealers; and by these they were sold again, or exported in vessels, by hundreds at a time, to Brazil, Virginia, the West Indies, &c. Towards the close of the eighteenth century, as many as 100,000 negroes were annually carried away from Africa by European vessels, the British vessels alone carrying away 38,000 of these.

431. There were never wanting men in all countries who were shocked with this traffic in human beings, and who protested against it as contrary to Christian principles. It was not till the year 1787, however, that the growing conviction of the iniquity of the slave-trade took the shape of a distinct political movement. In that year, Mr Wilberforce, associating himself with Mr Thomas Clarkson and others interested in the subject, brought the question before the British parliament. Public attention was roused, and a vehement controversy arose, which lasted for twenty years. The French Revolution for a while arrested the progress of the abolition cause, by bringing the word 'liberty' itself into discredit in Britain. The conquest of the Dutch colonies by the British in their wars against Napoleon so increased the trade as to give an impulse to the efforts of the abolitionists; and in 1805 and 1806, measures were carried which limited the trade to certain colonies, and made it illegal for British subjects

beyond these. In 1807, a bill was carried abolishing the trade altogether, and inflicting penalties on British subjects engaging in it. These penalties being found insufficient, a bill was carried in 1811 by Mr Brougham, making the slave-trade felony, and punishable by imprisonment and transportation. A subsequent bill (1824) made it piracy, and punishable with death; but on the diminution of capital offences in 1837, the punishment was changed into transportation for life.

432. The example and the diplomatic influence of Great Britain had already roused the governments of other countries. The slave-trade was, by the influence of Britain, made a topic of discussion at the Congress of Vienna (§ 348), and the powers engaged in that congress came under obligations to abolish the slave-trade within their respective spheres. Accordingly, since that time, all the Christian powers of Europe, as well as the United States and the various American governments, have prohibited the slave-traffic with Africa to their subjects; and all the governments, with the exception of the United States, have likewise agreed to a mutual right of search—that is, each has agreed to allow its ships to be searched by ships of the others, where there is a suspicion that slaves may be found on board.

433. The abolition of the *slave-trade*, it is to be remembered, is a different thing from the abolition of *slavery*. It has been illegal for any British subject since 1807 to trade with Africa for slaves; but slavery existed in the British colonies till 1833—so also slaves now exist, and form a large proportion of the population, in the United States, in Brazil, and in the Spanish colonies of the West Indies, notwithstanding the abolition of the slave-*trade* by the governments of those countries. These slaves are legally bought and sold, and carried about as objects of internal traffic, within the boundaries of the governments, notwithstanding that it is illegal to bring in new slaves from abroad.

434. Nay, more, though the slave-*trade* is *illegal*, it is still carried on, and that not only by the Mohammedans on land through Egypt, where it cannot be checked, but by

sea, by Europeans and Americans. It is a maxim at the custom-house, that no trade that yields 30 per cent. of profit can be suppressed. Now, as the traffic in slaves yields 180 or 200 per cent., there is ample temptation still to engage in it; and, in spite of all the penalties upon it, and all the difficulties attending it, a number of ships still annually carry cargoes of slaves from Africa to America. These ships are built so as to sail fast; their crews are composed of Spaniards, Americans, and Portuguese, sometimes with Englishmen among them; and they belong to Spanish, Portuguese, or American speculators, who have agents collecting slaves for them on the African coasts. These agents watch their opportunity when the British and French cruisers are absent, and hastily pack their cargoes in the vessels in waiting, which then make all haste across the Atlantic. Brazil, Cuba, and Porto Rico are the chief markets of this contraband traffic. It has been calculated that as many as 150,000 Africans are still annually landed in America by slave-vessels—or more than were imported while the traffic was legal; while, at the same time, the horrors of the trade and the mortality during the passage are enormously increased. Aroused by these startling facts, the British and other governments, while still keeping up the blockade of the African coasts, have become convinced that it is only within Africa itself, and by a change affecting African society, that the slave-trade can be suppressed; and hence they have opened up negotiations with native African chiefs, and have endeavoured to persuade these chiefs that other kinds of commerce will be more profitable to them in the end than the commerce in slaves.

435. AMERICA.—There are still relics of the aboriginal Indians both in North and in South America, but, politically, the whole of the continent consists either of colonial possessions of the European powers, or of states which were once colonies of the European powers, but have ceased to be such, and become in every respect independent. I. EUROPEAN POSSESSIONS IN AMERICA.—1. *Russian America*, including the north-western angle of North America. 2. *British America*, including Upper

and Lower Canada, Hudson's Bay Territory, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward Island; the West Indian islands of Jamaica, Barbadoes, &c., Antigua, &c., Trinidad, and the Bahamas; and the part of South America called British Guiana. In most of these territories, the area of which together is as large as that of Europe, the colonists govern themselves by constitutional legislatures of their own, under governors representing the British crown. Though some of them—as, for example, the Canadas and Jamaica—have been and are the scenes of events of great interest to the social and political philosopher, their histories may be considered as involved in that of Britain. 3. *Danish America*, including Greenland and one of the smaller West Indian islands. 4. *Dutch America*, including now only Dutch Guiana, and several small islands in the West Indies. 5. *Swedish America*, limited to the West Indian island of St Bartholomew. 6. *French America*, which once included the Canadas and other parts of North America, but now only French Guiana, in South America, and several West Indian islands. 7. *Spanish America*, once so vast, but now reduced to the West Indian islands of Cuba, Porto Rico, &c. II. INDEPENDENT AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS.—Under this name may be included the *United States*, the various *Spanish republics* of North and South America, the *Empire of Brazil*, and the island of *Hayti*.

436. I. THE UNITED STATES.—Adequately to trace the growth of the wonderful American republic, from the year 1789, at which point we left it (§ 177), to the present time, would require many volumes. All that can be done here is to give a chronological outline of the events most conspicuous in the history of the republic under its successive presidents. 1. *George Washington* (1789–1797). This eminent man presided for eight years over the republic which he had helped to found, the gratitude and respect of his countrymen having called upon him to assume the presidency a second time, after the expiration of his first four years of office. It was proposed to elect him a third time, but he deemed it right to set the

example of self-denial in this respect to his successors; and, accordingly, it has become a standing practice in the United States not to re-elect a president more than once. The first years of Washington's presidency were spent in consolidating the new republic, settling the details of the constitution, and arranging the different executive and judicial offices of state. Towards the close of his second presidency, that great fundamental distinction of parties which has perpetuated itself ever since in American politics, became plainly marked in the debates of congress; the *Federalists* or *Whigs*, as one of the parties was called, making it their aim to avoid democratic extremes, and to strengthen the central government, so as to keep the component states of the Union—increased to sixteen in number by the erection of Vermont (1791), Kentucky (1792), and Tennessee (1796), into separate states—as firmly knit together as possible; and the *Democrats*, on the other hand, inclining, as their name indicates, to all measures tending to increase the free action of the individual citizens in each state, and of the separate states, as distinct from the Union. Such a dualistic division into parties seems an essential condition of health and progress in all free states; and the only peculiarity of the American division of parties was, that both started from a position far in advance of any occupied by the politicians of the Old World, with the exception of those of France during the revolution. Washington belonged to the Federalist or more aristocratic party. He laid it down as a rule that the Americans should interfere as little as possible with European affairs, but should attend exclusively to the development of their own resources. Hence the Federalists, as a party, took less interest than the Democrats in the progress of the French Revolution; and during that revolution, the United States shewed their sympathy with the republicans of France by nothing more than maintaining diplomatic relations with them.

2. *John Adams* (1797–1801). On the refusal of Washington to be re-elected a second time, the Federalists were strong enough to secure the election of John Adams, a leading member of their party, already distinguished by

his political services during and since the revolution. His presidency, which coincided in point of time with the first years of Bonaparte's power in France, was distinguished by no event of particular importance. Party strife became fiercer and fiercer during his period of office, and the Democrats became so powerful as to prevent his re-election. 3. *Thomas Jefferson* (1801–1809). With the exception of Washington and Franklin, there is no man whose memory is more strongly cherished by the Americans than that of their third president, Jefferson. A man of philosophical powers of mind, of great industry, and of an impassioned zeal for social progress in all its forms, he had, like his predecessors, taken an active part in the struggle for independence and in the foundation of the republic, and had served as ambassador at Paris and as secretary of state under Washington, and vice-president under Adams, when the Democrats, who regarded him as their chief, secured his election to the highest place in the United States. 'We will shew,' he said on his election, 'how the ship will sail when put on the democratic tack;' and the policy of his government consisted in making these words good. He did everything in his power to promote the cause of individual liberty, even if at the expense of the political unity of the state; and some of the ideas which he left behind him have since been developed into the notion, that individuals may throw off all responsibility in the obligations contracted, in their name, by their rulers, or by their predecessors. Acting on the same principles, he always supported the cause of the separate states as against that of the central government; and he provided for the extension of the republic, by settling the terms on which new lands should be settled and admitted into the Union. The number of states was increased, during his administration to seventeen, by the admission of Ohio to the rank of a separate state in 1802; and the area of the republic, already vast enough, was increased by the purchase of Louisiana from France for 15,000,000 of dollars in 1803. Like Washington, Jefferson refused to be president a third time, and retired into private life. 4. *James Madison* (1809–1817). The administration of

Mr Madison, who was also a Democrat in his politics, was distinguished chiefly by the war carried on between the United States and Great Britain from 1812 to 1815. This war originated in an important dispute respecting the maritime rights of neutral powers. Britain, during the war with France, had claimed the right of searching American vessels, in order to ascertain that they were not carrying arms and stores for the enemy, and also in order to impress any British subjects that might be found on board. The American government had resisted this claim, pleading among other things the naturalisation-law of the United States, by which, after a certain period of residence in America, the born subjects of foreign powers become American citizens. A similar dispute arose with the French government. Napoleon's edicts against British commerce brought the whole question to a decisive issue; and in 1809, the federal government passed a law forbidding all intercourse between America and either of the two belligerent powers till they should have repealed their obnoxious edicts against neutrals. The French government yielded the point in 1810; but the British government persisted, and, after various conflicts at sea between British and American vessels, Mr Madison's government declared war in 1812. The war, after being carried on both at sea and on the American continent, ended with the main occasion of it in 1815; but the important international questions concerned in it were not settled, and may again produce much trouble. With the exception of this war with Britain, the history of America during Mr Madison's double term of office was sufficiently equable. Agriculture, commerce, population, and education made progress; and the number of states in the Union was increased to twenty, by the recognition of separate state rights in Louisiana (1812), Indiana (1815), and Mississippi (1816). 5. *James Monroe* (1817–1825). During the administration of this president, who had already distinguished himself in the service of the republic as a statesman of the Jefferson school, Florida became a dependency of the United States by cession from Spain (1821), and the number of states in the Union was increased to twenty-four, by the admission

of Illinois (1818), Alabama (1819), Maine (1820), and Missouri (1821). 6. *John Quincy Adams* (1825–1829). This president, who was the son of the second president, John Adams, and of federalist politics, enjoyed but one term of office. 7. *Andrew Jackson* (1829–1837). This remarkable man had distinguished himself both as a democratic politician and as a general in the American service, in which latter capacity he had gained successes against the British troops during the war of 1812–1815, and also against the Indians in Florida and elsewhere. He had been appointed governor of Florida on the acquisition of that province from Spain; and had there shewn great energy as a ruler. During his presidency, democratic principles were in the ascendant in the republic; Arkansas and Michigan were added (1836) to the number of the states, which thus became twenty-six, or double their original number; and the encroachments of Americans on Texas, and other districts beyond the proper limits of the republic, were encouraged. The great topic of controversy between the Federalists and the Democrats at this time was that of the bank-charter—the Federalists regarding the existence of a national bank in connection with the government as a means of insuring that concentration in political affairs which they desired; while the Democrats, for that very reason, were adverse to a bank so constituted. 8. *Martin Van Buren* (1837–1841). The single term of Mr Van Buren's presidency was occupied by a continuation of the bank-charter controversy. 9. *William Henry Harrison* and *John Tyler* (1841–1845). General Harrison having died within a few weeks after his election to the presidency, was succeeded, according to the rule providing for such cases, by the vice-president, Mr Tyler. During his term of office, disputes arose between the American and British governments respecting the boundaries of their respective territories—the Maine boundary on the one side of the continent, and the Oregon boundary on the other; but those disputes, which threatened at one time to be serious, were wisely adjusted by concessions on the part of the British. An event of some importance during the same presidency was the annexation of Texas, a

province which had originally belonged to Mexico, but which, having been occupied by settlers from the United States, had, after some fighting between these settlers and the Mexican troops, declared itself independent of Mexico in 1836. After about nine years of precarious existence as an independent state, with a congress and president of their own, the Texans were, at their own request, incorporated in the United States in 1845, since which time Texas has been one of the states of the Union. Florida, till then only a dependency of the Union, became a regular state in the same year. 10. *James Polk* (1845–1849). The annexation of Texas led to a war between the United States and the Mexican republic, which, after being carried on with much bloodshed between the American forces under able generals on the one side, and the Mexicans under their president, Santa Anna, on the other, terminated in the defeat of the Mexicans, and the cession to the United States of the important provinces of New Mexico and New California (1847–8). Wisconsin and Iowa were also added to the states of the Union at this period. 11. General *Zachary Taylor*, who having died fifteen months after his accession to office, was succeeded by *Millard Fillmore*. 12. *Franklin Pierce* (1853), the present president.

437. The above is but a bare outline of the central political history of the United States from 1789 to 1848. One must fancy in addition a great deal besides—the constant influx of immigrants in thousands from the various countries in the Old World, and especially from Great Britain and Ireland, and from Germany; the continual advance westward of these immigrants and the native Americans upon the vast unoccupied territories of the republic, clearing these lands by their toil, and settling on them at the expense of the roaming Indians; the energetic activity of the whole population, in agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, over this ever-increasing area—one must fancy all this in order to comprehend how that original community of about 2,000,000, over which Washington was called to preside, has swelled into the gigantic nation of 20,000,000 which we now see dominant

in North America, with energies still unexhausted, and with fields still illimitable over which they may expatiate. It has, indeed, been made a question whether a confederacy embracing so many states, and extending over so wide a geographical space, can long be held together; and political observers have anticipated the time when the present American Union will break up into four groups—the New England group of states, comprising Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Vermont; the middle group of states, comprising New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, and New Jersey; the southern group of states, comprising Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, the two Carolinas, and Delaware; and the western group of states, comprising Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa, with portions of Ohio, Kentucky, and Missouri. The reason of this anticipation is, that these four parts of the Union have each a separate type of character, and separate ideas and interests. But though such distinctions indubitably exist, and though, in times of excitement, there have been threats of a disruption of the Union, such a result does not yet appear imminent. The constitution of the Union is such as to permit great differences among its component parts without preventing their cohesion. Each state, having its separate government and legislature, resting on a basis of popular election, is really independent in the management of its own affairs; while the federal constitution, represented in the president and his ministers, and the congress of deputies from the several states, is sufficiently elastic to allow scope for the separate activity of as many states as can be formed. The only question on which real peril might arise to the Union seems to be that of slavery. The southern or planting states, as we have mentioned, regard slavery as one of their social institutions; the negroes in these states form a very large proportion of the whole population, and their emancipation would be a social change the consequences of which cannot be calculated. The northern states, on the other hand, contain no slaves, and are adverse to

slavery on grounds of morality and expediency—some of their politicians advocating the immediate abolition of slavery wherever it exists, while others are content with urging a course of conduct tending to abolish slavery gradually. There are various ways in which this difference brings the slave-states and the free-states into collision. One cause of collision is the condition of the law respecting the asylum to be afforded to slaves escaping from their masters into free-states; another cause is the disposition of the friends of abolition to introduce discussions on slavery into the congress; and a third is the struggle made by each party on the admission of a new state into the Union, to prevent the balance between the slave-states and the free-states from being disturbed to its own injury. These causes of collision have of late years produced much disturbance; and the slave-states have again and again threatened to break up the Union if their 'domestic institution' is interfered with. The consequence has been a general inclination among politicians to let the question of slavery alone in congress, and to leave it to be solved by time and circumstance.

438. Accustomed to the exercise of political rights which he sees possessed by the inhabitants of no other country in the world, the American citizen cherishes a sense of equality and freedom which distinguishes him wherever he goes. When he travels on the European continent, he chafes under the restrictions of passports and police regulations, and almost feels contempt for the patience of the natives who can submit to them. For the same reason, he is proud of his country, which he regards as the only land where true freedom is known; and thus, notwithstanding the extent of the American dominions, and the looseness of the federal bond by which they are connected, American patriotism is peculiarly intense. Among many Americans, this patriotism takes the form of a desire to extend the political freedom which they themselves enjoy to other parts of the earth. Hitherto, indeed, the republic has been faithful, in its foreign policy, to Washington's maxim of non-interference in the affairs of Europe; and the Federalists, as a body, are disposed

still to maintain this principle. The Democrats, on the other hand, are favourable to a more aggressive course of foreign policy. In particular, their notion of the superiority of the rights of individuals to those of governments, leads them to claim for themselves the right of aggression upon parts of America of which they think more could be made if they were brought under American rule. It is quite consistent with the views of a large portion of this party that any number of private Americans should associate together as a joint-stock company, and fit out an expedition for the occupation of waste or nearly waste lands belonging to a foreign power. It was by such 'filibusterers,' as they are called, that Texas and other parts of Mexico were first occupied; and, more recently, the Spanish island of Cuba has been the object of cupidity to this class of Americans.

439. Originally colonised by members of all the religious sects of the Old World—Catholics from Spain, Catholics and Huguenots from France, as well as Church of England men, Catholics, Presbyterians, Independents, and Quakers from England; and having received into its bosom since members of almost all the extreme sects of Germany and other countries—the American republic now presents an assemblage of all creeds, associated together on a footing of perfect equality. Out of 36,000 places of worship in the whole Union in 1850, the Methodists, who are the most active and increasing of the American sects, had about 13,000; the Baptists, about 13,500; the Presbyterians, about 5960; the Independents or Congregationalists, about 2000; the Episcopalians, about 1550; the Roman Catholics, about 1070; and the Unitarians, about 300. This represents also, though not exactly, the numerical proportion. But in addition to these sects, common to America and the Old World, America has given birth to a strange sect of her own, professing a religion totally new. This is the so-called sect of the Mormons. Founded by Joseph Smith, a native of Manchester in the state of New York, this extraordinary sect went on increasing till it attracted public attention and excited tumults. In one of these tumults at Carthage, Joseph Smith lost his life;

but his disciples became a powerful body, which, after several migrations, settled at Utah, a territory midway between the Atlantic and the Pacific, where they are now regularly organised into a community on the Mormonite model. In material respects, the community is flourishing; and it is being continually increased by immigrants from the American states and from Europe.

440. II. THE SPANISH REPUBLICS.—The history of the various Spanish republics—Mexico, Guatemala, Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Chili, La Plata, Uruguay, and Paraguay—since their formation between thirty and forty years ago (§ 379), has been very turbulent—consisting partly in wars with each other, but chiefly in incessant civil wars occasioned by the attempts of individuals to subvert the constitutions and found military despotisms. In Mexico, Santa Anna attained the ascendancy in 1832, and has retained it ever since; and in Paraguay, an extraordinary man, named Dr Francia, established a military dictatorship, which lasted for several years. On the whole, it is evident that the Spanish republics of America are at present little better than a social and political chaos, in which everything has to be reformed and reorganised. Whether the natives of these republics—effeminate, indolent, and demoralised as they are—will be capable of effecting such a reorganisation themselves, whether by military despotism or by any other means, is doubtful. Some regard the Argentine Republic, which is by far the most flourishing and powerful of them, as likely to form the foundation of a new empire in South America; others think that a foreign force—like that of the United States of North America—will have to act upon the chaos in order to reduce it to order.

441. III. BRAZIL.—Since its separation from Portugal, and erection into an independent empire under Don Pedro, in 1822 (§ 384), Brazil has been governed constitutionally by an emperor in conjunction with a senate and a chamber of deputies meeting at Rio Janeiro. For administrative purposes, the empire is divided into eighteen provinces. The government is, on the whole, mild and liberal, and the country is advancing in prosperity. The Brazilians,

however, do not seem to be a people of such energy of character as their neighbours of La Plata; and about one-half of the entire population of the empire consists of negroes. Not only is slavery a domestic institution in Brazil, as in the United States, but the slave-trade itself is not extinct among the Brazilians. In spite of the vigilance of British and other cruisers, cargoes of slaves are still brought from Africa to the coasts of Brazil, and there sold.

442. IV. HAYTI, or ST DOMINGO.—After the deportation of Toussaint Louverture to France (§ 253), and the suppression of his government, the French expedition fitted out by Bonaparte for the purpose endeavoured to re-establish the colonial rule in the island; but the obstinate courage of the blacks under Dessalines, Christophe, and other native chiefs, foiled these attempts; and towards the close of 1803, the last French corps was withdrawn from St Domingo. The independence of the island was then proclaimed 'in the name of the blacks and the people of colour;' and it was declared to be a republic, Dessalines being appointed governor-general for life, with the right to name his successor. Dessalines ruled with vigour and severity; and in October 1804, he made himself emperor, under the title of James I. His policy was to favour the pure negroes at the expense of the mulattoes, who were numerous in the island. In October 1806, he was assassinated by the soldiers of one of his generals, a mulatto named Petion; after which the island was divided into two parts—the western and southern parts forming a republic under the presidency of Petion; while the remainder acknowledged the rule of the negro chief Christophe, first as governor, and next (1811) as Henry I., King of Hayti. Both parts of the island were well administered. After the restoration of the Bourbons, some attempts were made by the French to recover their footing in Hayti; but without success. In 1818, Petion died, and was succeeded by a mulatto named Boyer; and King Christophe having killed himself in 1820, the republic and the kingdom were united into a republic, with Boyer as president. Boyer made every exertion for

the improvement of the country, and, by a treaty concluded in 1825, procured the cession of all claims to the island on the part of France, on condition of a certain fixed pecuniary compensation, to be paid before 1867. But the indolence of the negro character, and the jealousy between the mulattoes and blacks, defeated the policy of the president; and repeated disturbances broke out, which ended in his flight (1843). Finally, the island became split into two governments; the part which formerly belonged to Spain was formed into a republic, under the name of Domingo or Dominica, with a population of 200,000; and the French portion, numbering 800,000, became the empire of Hayti, by its president crowning himself (1849) as Faustin I.

443. Whoever has attended to the foregoing summary of European history since 1815, will have observed that, by the year 1848, the states of Europe had gradually ranged themselves into two opposed orders. On the one hand were the free or constitutionally governed states —such as Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Sweden and Norway, the majority of the minor German states, Denmark, and Greece. These states, indeed, differed very much among themselves as to the degree of political liberty and influence enjoyed by their inhabitants; some—as Switzerland—being almost as republican as the United States of America; others—as Britain—having a more modified popular representation; and others, again—as the minor German states—having but a meagre allowance of political liberty. In all, however, there was a recognition, at least theoretically, of the representative principle of government—that is, of the principle that laws should be made by or with the consent of the people themselves, through representatives, elected by them and acting for them in parliaments or deliberative assemblies. There was another class of states, however, including Russia, Austria, Prussia, some of the minor German states, and all the Italian states; in which the theory was, that the right of ruling and making laws

belonged absolutely to certain dynasties—in Russia, to the dynasty of the Romanofs; in Austria, to that of the Hapsburgs; and so on: these dynasties, of course, being morally bound to consult the interests of the governed populations, but not being responsible to their subjects for their manner of doing so, nor for their choice of ministers. In all such absolutely governed states, as we have seen, there was a chronic strife between the people and their rulers. In Austria and Italy, in particular, there were continual conspiracies and attempts at insurrection. It was evident, in short, that, both as respected each European country individually, and as respected these countries in their relations to each other, a conflict was in preparation between the opposed principles of absolutism and popular or representative government; and that this conflict would distinguish the history of the nineteenth century, in the same manner as the conflict between Catholicism and Protestantism had distinguished the history of the sixteenth.

444. The year 1848 witnessed the outbreak of this long-expected movement. It began in France, a country peculiarly susceptible of political and social changes itself, and peculiarly capable, by its example, of acting upon other countries. Discontented with the government of Louis-Philippe (§ 362), the parliamentary liberals of France, with M. Odillon Barrot and others at their head, had begun an agitation—not unlike that of the Reform Bill in Britain—for placing electoral rights in the hands of a greater number of the population than then exercised them. The king and his minister, Guizot, attempted (February 1848) to prevent a banquet at which this question of parliamentary reform was to be discussed. The parliamentary liberals resented this act of power; the republicans, the socialists, and the populace seized the opportunity; barricades were erected in the streets of Paris; and, menaced with popular vengeance, Louis-Philippe was obliged to abdicate, and flee with his family to England. France was declared once more to be a republic; all restrictions on the liberty of the press and on the right of public meeting were abolished, and a provisional government was appointed, consisting of the

following members :—Dupont de l'Eure, a veteran republican politician, above eighty years of age; Arago, the astronomer; Lamartine, Cremieux, Marie, Garnier-Pagès, Marrast, Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, Flocon, and Albert, a working-man. They were to administer affairs until an assembly elected by universal suffrage should meet to supersede them.

445. The effect of this revolution on the other countries of Europe was instantaneous. With the exception of Britain, Spain, and Russia, there was no country where it did not lead to commotions; but, as was natural, its effects were most striking among the populations of Germany and Italy.

446. GERMANY.—Liberal ideas had been spontaneously making progress in Germany. The French revolution of 1830 had agitated the minor states, and, as we have seen, had obliged the governments of the majority of these states to grant constitutions to their subjects. These constitutions were after the model of that of France; and the German princes soon found the means of imitating Louis-Philippe, and practically neutralising the constitutions as much as possible by all kinds of restrictions on the press and on popular liberty. The king of Prussia —who, since his accession in 1840, had been timidly making advances towards the liberals, with a view to be raised, by their means, to the presidency in Germany—had at length, in 1847, ventured to redeem the conditional promises made by his father and himself to the Prussians, by convening a general assembly of the Prussian states at Berlin. Austria, meanwhile, remained firm in its absolutist system under Metternich, indignant with German liberalism, and with Prussia for connecting herself with it.

447. Such was the state of things in Germany, when the news of the Parisian revolution of February 1848 was borne across the Rhine. In an instant, German liberalism, spurning the restrictions of Prussian leadership, burst out everywhere in armed demonstrations. There were riots in Baden, in Hesse-Cassel, in Cologne, in Munich, and in other German towns; the sovereigns trembled for their thrones; and within a month, all the powers of the

German confederacy, from Austria and Prussia down to the minutest principalities, had granted constitutions to their subjects, founded on universal suffrage, liberty of the press, and all the other extreme forms of freedom of which the French revolutionists had set the example. In *Austria*, indeed, Metternich resisted for some time; but the aspect of the people in Vienna became so threatening (March 13), that he fled for his life, and took refuge in Britain, leaving the feeble-minded Emperor Ferdinand to comply with the popular demands, and grant a constitution to the Austrian dominions. In *Prussia*, the king hastened to avoid an insurrection in Berlin by expanding the arrangements he had already adopted, so as to bring them into accordance with the demands of the moment. In *Bavaria*, the king, who had already provoked the disgust of his subjects by some of his domestic circumstances, thought it best to abdicate, and leave it to his successor to weather the storm. In *Hanover*, *Saxony*, *Hesse-Cassel*, *Baden*, &c., similar events occurred. All over Germany, in fact, it was a spectacle of sovereigns bowing before their subjects, making speeches to them, promising to govern them on new principles, and asking oblivion for the past.

448. But it was not merely on the several states of Germany individually that the revolution of 1848 produced results; the federal constitution itself was affected by it. The acquisition of constitutional government for the separate states was but one of the objects which German liberalism had been for many years proposing to itself; and that object being accomplished, the other object—namely, the subversion of the federal constitution settled by the absolutist powers in 1815, in the interests of absolutism, and the substitution of a new constitution which should satisfy the longings after German unity—behoved next to be discussed. A number of men of note from all parts of Germany were convened at Frankfort, there to form a kind of national German parliament, which should supersede the old diet. Various schemes were propounded as to the proper course to be adopted. The more extreme liberals advocated the scheme of a great federal republic, represented by a congress of

deputies elected by the populations of the various states. The prevailing opinion, however, was in favour of a revived German Empire, of which Prussia, and not Austria, should be the head. The Frankfort parliament, consisting of deputies from the various states, according to the amount of their population, met on the 18th of May, the diet being then also in session. To the grief of the friends of their cause, the parliament wasted its time on abstract and speculative questions such as Germans are fond of, and no results of practical importance followed its deliberations. An impulse, however, had been given to the cause of German unity, and all over Germany the students and others exulted in the belief that their common German fatherland was once more to figure as a vast power in Europe.

449. Austria was in great peril from the revolution, the natural consequences of which, in her case, were far more sweeping than in that of any other German power. It was not enough that the German parts of her dominions had constitutional government conceded to them; the Hungarians, the Slavonians, and the Italians subject to her sway, had their separate quarrels with the Austrian government, and seized the opportunity of separate action. 1. *Hungary.*—The Magyars, under Count Batthyani and Kossuth as their leaders, were engaged, as usual (§ 395), in the work of resisting the policy of Metternich in Hungary, when the news of the events of February in Paris reached them. On the 4th of March, Kossuth made a motion in the diet to the effect, that 'in order to secure the Magyar constitution, eternally threatened by the despotic system pursued in the other parts of the emperor's dominions,' measures should be taken to obtain for Hungary a really independent executive, and to restore to the kingdom its ancient rights. The motion was carried unanimously in the lower house; the upper suspended its sittings; and Metternich and the Austrian cabinet prepared to use military force. The insurrection of the Viennese, however, having driven Metternich into exile, and compelled the Austrian emperor to grant a constitution to his German subjects, the Hungarians gained the day.

They were promised a new executive, and whatever else they wanted. The Archduke Stephen was accordingly named viceroy of the kingdom, and a new ministry came into office, with Count Batthyani as president, and Kossuth as minister of finance. This ministry and the diet immediately carried a series of measures for the abolition of feudal burdens in Hungary, and the equalisation of the civil rights of the Slavonians and the Magyars; and a new diet, elected by universal suffrage, was convened for the 2d of July. 2. *The Slavonians.*—The 16,000,000 of Slavonians subject to Austria thought the time was at hand for realising their Pan-slavic dreams (§ 395); but as they were not agreed in the form of these dreams, and were, moreover, broken up into separate masses, as Bohemians, Moravians, Illyrians, Croats, Slowaks, &c., they did not know how to realise them. In Bohemia, indeed, the instinct of the people pointed to a scheme whereby Bohemia should, like Hungary, become a separate constitutional state under the Austrian crown; but the Austrian cabinet refusing to entertain such a scheme, the Bohemians proclaimed the bolder scheme of a Slavonic nationality which should include their Slavonian fellow-subjects of Austria. A congress of deputies, professing to represent all the Slavonian populations of Europe, with the exception of Russia, met at Prague (May 1848). Meanwhile, in one particular Slavonian population—the Croats—the national spirit shewed itself in the shape of a subsidiary movement, hostile rather to the Magyars than to Austrian rule. Croatia and Slavonia Proper stood in the same subordinate relation to Hungary that Hungary did to the Austrian Empire; and consequently, just as the Hungarians had complained of the tyranny of the Austrians, so the Croats and Slavonians Proper had been long at feud with the Magyars. After the Hungarian revolution, Batthyani and his associates took steps to reconcile these differences, by increasing the number of representatives from Croatia entitled to sit in the Hungarian diet, and by guaranteeing the independent administration of affairs in the Croatian territory. These concessions seemed at first to satisfy the Croats, as they

did the other Slavonians of Hungary; but very soon the Croats renewed their feud, and demanded to be made independent of Hungary altogether. The Croat chief Jellachich, who had been made *ban*, or governor, of Croatia by the emperor, put himself at the head of this Southern Slavonian or Illyrian movement, which was also secretly encouraged by the Austrian court as a means of opposition to the Hungarians. 3. *The Italians.*—The effects of the revolution on the Italian subjects of Austria are connected with its larger effects on Italy as a whole.

450. ITALY.—Italy was already in a state of excitement, caused by the liberal policy of Pope Pius IX., when the news of the French revolution passed through its populations. Instantly, as in Germany, all the native despotisms fell before the blast of this news. Charles Albert in the Sardinian states, Ferdinand II. in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the Grand-duke Leopold in Tuscany, and the Dukes of Modena and Parma, could only keep their thrones by giving or promising constitutions; and the world saw for the first time the spectacle of a constitutional pope in Rome. But, besides thus yielding to the revolutionary force within their own dominions, these sovereigns found themselves obliged to join in a common enterprise for driving the Austrians out of Lombardy and Venice, so as to gratify the long-cherished desire of all the Italians to see their native peninsula entirely liberated from foreign thraldom. Already the Milanese had, by five days of valiant fighting (March 1848), driven the Austrian garrison out of their city; and other Lombard cities had so effectually followed the example, that the Austrians seemed already to have lost their Italian provinces, and it was only necessary to prevent them from recovering them. It was with hesitation that most of the Italian princes joined in the league against Austria—a power to which they were all indebted. Charles Albert of Sardinia alone took up the cause with spirit. Influenced partly by real patriotism, partly by a desire to aggrandise his own kingdom, by adding to it the Italian possessions of Austria, and so extending the sway of the House of Savoy over the whole of Northern Italy, he boldly undertook to lead

the Italians in a war against Austria. In his own powerful and well-drilled army he had the means of doing so; but he invited co-operation from the other Italian powers. The Tuscans compelled their grand-duke to send 7000 men; the pope dared not withstand the enthusiasm of his subjects, and saw 10,000 Romans raised for the Austrian war, and blessed by his own priests as they set out for Lombardy; and the king of Naples allowed 40,000 of his troops to march north on the same errand under General Pepe, a Neapolitan officer, who, like many other Italians, had returned from exile to share the new liberty so unexpectedly obtained for their native land, and to assist in maintaining it.

451. Charles Albert took the field against the Austrian commander-in-chief Radetzky, a veteran gray in the service, but still active and able. The hearts of the Italians beat high with expectation; and even the Mazzinians, whose own preferences were for a united Italian republic, were willing to fight under the royal standard of Sardinia when it advanced against the Austrians. Charles Albert, however, relied most on his own regular army, and availed himself as little as possible of the services of volunteers and republicans, whose peculiar opinions he did not wish to see mixed up with his own scheme of the war.

452. Thus, within the course of a few weeks, the whole aspect of continental Europe was changed. Revolution was in the ascendant; the peoples were everywhere masters; and the absolutist princes and politicians were obliged to submit in appearance, and could only plot in private. Very soon, however, there came a reaction. This reaction was already in progress during the latter half of the year 1848, and the year 1849 saw it concluded.

453. FRANCE.—The provisional government of February was unequal to the task which had devolved upon it. Lamartine, who for a time was the chief of the government, was able, by his skill as an orator, to prevent the people from doing what, in accordance with the revolutionary instinct, they were at first eager to do—engage in a war with the absolutist powers of Europe. He persuaded

them to accept the tricolor as the flag of the new republic, instead of the red flag, which was proposed as a fit symbol —the symbol of war to the death against tyrants, foreign and domestic. By this pacific system of foreign policy, the revolutionary energy was deprived of the outlet which it sought for itself in wars against the despotic powers of Germany and Italy, and was confined within France, there to expend itself in questions of domestic interest.

454. The questions to which it did address itself were chiefly of the kind called social, as distinct from those named political. The workmen of Paris, by whom the revolution had been carried in the streets, were, for the most part, socialists as well as republicans; and several members of the provisional government were socialists—more particularly Louis Blanc, already known as a socialist writer; and Albert, a working-man, known among the socialist-clubs of Paris. Accordingly, the socialists claimed the revolution as their own. 'The former revolutions of France,' they said, 'were political revolutions; their purpose was to establish the republican principle, equality of civil rights, universal suffrage, the sovereignty of the people, and such like. This revolution of 1848, however, has a new purpose and a new character; it has to decide social questions—the relative rights of capital and labour, the duty of the state to the poorer orders of the community,' &c. Now, though the majority of the members of the provisional government, including Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Lamartine, and Marrast, were only republicans in the political sense, and not socialists, they were carried away by the tide of class opinion, and obliged to accept the socialist views of their colleagues. France, under its new government, was declared to be 'a Social and Democratic Republic;' and one of the first articles promulgated by the provisional government in their decrees, was to the effect that the state 'guaranteed labour to all citizens' (February 25, 1848). In order to carry out this new principle, which devolved on the government the duty of providing work for all who could not obtain it for themselves, two important measures were adopted—the establishment of *Ateliers Nationaux*, or

national workshops, under the minister of public works; and the institution of a commission or ministry of labour, with Louis Blanc as president, and Albert as vice-president. The consequences were prodigious. Meetings were held at the palace of the Luxembourg, where the different trades came to explain their views to Louis Blanc, so as to enable him to draw up a scheme for the 'organisation of labour;' and within a fortnight, upwards of 14,000 paupers and others were brigaded into industrial regiments, under the direction of the ministry of works, set to dig in the neighbourhood of Paris, or to do any other work that could be found for them, and paid at the rate of a franc or a franc and a half a day. Immense confusion followed, and the provisional government began to be alarmed at the difficulties it had imposed on itself. Meanwhile, socialist leaders, with the most frantic and absurd views, among whom Cabet the communist was conspicuous, and republicans, whose violence had till now kept them silent, congregated in Paris, and by their speeches and writings added to the confusion. Hundreds of newspapers sprang up, in which theories and crotchets never before heard of in sane society were advocated in the most crude style. Business was paralysed, and all looked forward eagerly to the meeting of the Constituent Assembly as the only chance of an escape from anarchy.

455. The assembly met on the 4th of May; and though it had been elected by universal suffrage, the socialists and more extreme republicans were disappointed with its composition. Of 900 representatives from all France, not 150 were acknowledged socialists; and even of the Parisian representatives, only four were so. Many of the representatives, indeed, were in their hearts opposed to the republic itself, and had accepted their posts in a spirit of hostility to it; while the majority, though republican, were moderate in their views. This became evident as early as the 9th of May, when the assembly elected an executive committee to take the place of the provisional government, whose functions had ceased. The persons elected were Arago, Garnier-Pagès, Marie, Lamartine, and Ledru-Rollin, of whom only the last was a republican of the

extreme school. Under this executive committee the assembly proceeded with their labours.

456. The socialist leaders and the populace of Paris were indignant. Louis Blanc, now out of office, demanded the institution of a permanent ministry of labour. The demand was refused. There were mobs in the streets. The Ateliers Nationaux had increased their numbers to nearly 100,000 men—in part real working-men out of work; but in part a mere rabble bent on mischief, and enjoying the idleness in which they were allowed to pass their time, owing to the utter inability of the government to find employment for so many. On the 15th of May, this rabble gathered round the assembly, broke into it, and dispersed the members, with the exception of one or two favourites, whom they carried in triumph. The national guard, however, came up in time to clear the hall; and the assembly, being reinstated, instituted an inquiry into the conduct of some of its members in relation to the tumult. Barbès, Sobrièr, and others, were arrested, and their places in the assembly filled up by new men, among whom were M. Thiers, General Changarnier, and M. Proudhon. It became clear that, at all hazards, the Ateliers Nationaux must be dissolved. Various plans were proposed for effecting this; among others, one by Lamartine for new railways. On the 22d of June, a decree was published excluding from the ateliers all unmarried men between seventeen and twenty-five years of age. Immediately Paris was in insurrection; barricades were erected in the streets; and it became evident that the assembly must employ cannon, or be swept away by a new revolution. The assembly did not hesitate. The executive government, some of whose members were suspected of being in alliance with the insurgents, was set aside, and General Cavaignac was called to the dictatorship. Although a firm republican, he thought it his duty to accept it; and for three days he fought at the head of his troops against the anarchists. Barricades and houses were blown down by cannon; and on the 26th of June, after no fewer than 6000 persons had lost their lives in the struggle, the insurgents were thoroughly reduced, and

order was restored in Paris. The more violent of the clubs and newspapers were suppressed; Louis Blanc and others were driven into exile or arrested; and the assembly, under the shelter of Cavaignac's military dictatorship, proceeded in its work of preparing a constitution for the republic. Although there were still socialists in the assembly, one of whom, M. Proudhon, made various propositions of a socialist character, the assembly, as a whole, was thoroughly sick of socialism; and, accordingly, in a new draft of the constitution submitted after the insurrection, it was proposed to cancel all articles of a socialist tendency, and, in particular, that guaranteeing the 'right to labour.' There were vehement debates on this subject in September 1848, M. Thiers and M. de Tocqueville leading the anti-socialists, while M. Ledru-Rollin and M. Proudhon led the other side; but at last the 'right of labour' was erased from the constitution by a majority of 596 votes against 187 (September 14, 1848).

457. Thus, after seven months, the *peculiar* principle thought to be established by the French revolution of 1848 was formally retracted; and the republic ceased to be a 'social and democratic,' and became only a 'political' republic. The question of greatest interest now was, who should be president of this republic? It was arranged that this should be determined by the universal suffrage of the French people. The more moderate republicans considered that, beyond a doubt, Cavaignac was the right man; the more extreme republicans set up M. Ledru-Rollin as a candidate; Proudhon and others had their supporters among the socialists; but, to the surprise of Europe, the choice fell on Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, who had upwards of 5,500,000 votes, whereas Cavaignac had not quite 1,500,000. A refugee in London (§ 361) when the news of Louis-Philippe's fall had reached him, the prince, believing that his hour was at length come, had hastened over to France, to offer his services as a citizen of the new republic. His offers, however, had been coldly received; and it was not till he had been chosen at a supplementary election for Paris in June that he was *permitted* to take his seat in the assembly. He had sat

there for a few months almost as a silent member, when, out of enthusiasm for the name he bore, the people of France called him, rather than Cavaignac, to the presidency of the republic (December 18, 1848).

458. The accession of Louis Napoleon to the presidency of the republic may be regarded as the close of the revolutionary movement in France. The forms of the republic were still kept up; and the power of the president was restricted by a representative assembly; but the tendencies of the nation, and particularly of the commercial and agricultural classes, were favourable to an increase of the executive power. The president perceived this; and, relying on the affection of the people for his name, he pursued a policy, the natural conclusion of which was the subversion of the republic, and the re-establishment of an empire on the model of that of his uncle. Gathering round him ministers of sentiments similar to his own, and cultivating the good-will of the army and of the peasantry, he gradually came to a rupture with the republican party and the assembly; and at length, by a *coup d'état* on the 2d of December 1851, he broke up the assembly and the constitution, and constituted himself absolute head of the state. The Parisians, attempting to oppose this change, were put down by force; and a universal vote of the French people, confirming what he had done, secured his rule. On the 2d of December 1852, he assumed the title of Napoleon III., Emperor of the French, under which title he still rules.

459. AUSTRIA.—The emperor and his court, fearing the turmoil in Vienna, removed or rather fled (May 17, 1848) to Innsprück in the Tyrol. Here the court, with Schwartzenberg, Latour, and other ministers, as its advisers, arranged its plans and directed the activity of its partisans in various parts of the empire. The chief reliance was, of course, in the army and its officers, most of whom were vehement anti-revolutionists. If opportunities could be created for employing the army against the various elements of the revolution, one by one, it might be possible, it was thought, ultimately to triumph over the revolution as a whole, and to restore the Austrian Empire to its integrity.

These revolutionary elements, however, were numerous. There was the Italian revolt in Lombardy, which had now assumed the dimensions of a regular war against Charles Albert in Northern Italy; there was the revolutionary diet in Hungary; there were the Slavonian movements in Bohemia, Croatia, and elsewhere; and, lastly, there was German democracy itself rampant at Vienna. How to play these forces against one another, and how to use the army against one or two of them without rousing all simultaneously, was the difficult task of Schwartzenberg and the other Austrian politicians. In this task they shewed extraordinary ability. In Italy, Radetzky was instructed to carry on the war against Charles Albert; and, leaving this enterprise to the care of that veteran, the Austrian court turned its attention to matters nearer home.

460. They began with the Slavonians of Bohemia, as being the most easy to manage. The Slavonian congress was still holding its meetings in Prague, the inhabitants of which city were in a state of great commotion. The Austrian governor of Prague was Field-marshal Prince Windischgrätz, a man of firm temper and of high aristocratic connections, in whom the Austrian court reposed unusual confidence. He had his army well under command, and only waited an occasion to shew what military force could do against the revolution. Such an occasion was afforded by the impatience of the people of Prague, who, tired of the oratory of the congress, broke out in insurrection (June 11, 1848). In the course of the insurrection, the wife of Prince Windischgrätz was killed at a window by a chance bullet. Windischgrätz immediately stormed the city with cannon, and, having completely reduced it to order, placed it under martial law. The news of this success reaching Innsprück, confirmed the resolution of the court; and Windischgrätz was looked to as the man likely to complete in Hungary and at Vienna the work which he had begun at Prague.

461. Meanwhile, the court had another instrument who was already serving its purposes against the revolution in Hungary. This was the Croatian ban Jellachich, the

leader of the southern Slavonian movement. It has been mentioned that this peculiar form of the Slavonian movement, though a part of the general Austrian revolution, was in reality directed in the main against Hungary—the immediate object of the Croats and their associates being to free themselves from all connection with the Hungarian kingdom, so as to become a separate nation subject directly to the Austrian emperor. Perceiving this, the Austrian court had come to an understanding with Jellachich, who was secretly authorised to do all he could to thwart the Hungarian ministry, by means of the opposition of the Croats and other Slavonians. Obeying these secret instructions, Jellachich had convened a Croat-Slavonian-Dalmatian diet at Agram, where the separation of Croatia from Hungary was to be discussed. The court, not yet prepared to come to an open rupture with the Hungarians, had professed to disapprove of this proceeding, had summoned Jellachich to Innsprück (May 29, 1848); and on his disobeying the order, had suspended him from his functions as ban, and declared him a traitor (June 10). Jellachich, professing submission, had repaired to Innsprück, as if to ask the emperor's forgiveness (June 14). This visit coincided with the bombardment of Prague by Windischgrätz; and when the ban returned to Croatia, it was with precise instructions as to his further procedure.

462. The new Hungarian diet, elected by universal suffrage, met on the 2d of July at Pesth; and one of the first subjects of discussion was the question of Croatian independence. Negotiations were opened with Jellachich, on the part of the Hungarians, with a view to the settlement of this question. The ban then threw off all disguise, and appearing no longer as the Croatian or Slavonian patriot, but as the champion of Austrian absolutism, declared that he would treat with the Hungarians on no other terms than their submission to the emperor, and the abolition of their separate ministries of war and finance. The Hungarians, perceiving their danger, sent remonstrances to the Austrian court, and, on the motion of Kossuth as finance-minister, decreed the levy of a national army. Before this army could be assembled, however,

Jellachich, at the head of 65,000 Croats and other Slavonians, invaded Hungary, committed great excesses, and was pressing on towards Pesth, avowedly as an officer of the emperor intrusted with the task of reducing the Hungarians to obedience. The country was in consternation; Batthyani and the other ministers resigned, declaring that the emperor had deceived them, and that they could be his ministers in Hungary no longer; and the conduct of the country in so important a crisis was left to the enthusiasm of the people and the zeal of the popular leaders. Kossuth became the recognised chief of the nation; he issued manifestoes, and hastened all kinds of military preparations; and the result was that, on the 29th of September, a Hungarian army met the advancing Croats under Jellachich, defeated it, and drove it towards the Austrian frontier.

463. The Austrian court, reassured by the successes of Windischgrätz and Jellachich, and by the orderly attitude of the Viennese, who had as yet shewn no disposition to interfere in behalf of their fellow-subjects and fellow-revolutionists of Italy, Hungary, and Bohemia, had by this time returned from Innsprück to Vienna. Great was the excitement among the Viennese when it was known that the Croat army, defeated by the Hungarians, was in full retreat towards their city. The excitement was increased when, on the 4th of October, an imperial decree appeared dissolving the Hungarian diet, placing Hungary under martial law, and appointing Jellachich governor of the country. The Viennese, recognising in this blow struck at the Hungarians a blow struck at the revolutionary cause in general, rose in insurrection; barricades were erected; the war-office was broken into, and the war-minister, Latour, as the author of the obnoxious decree, was torn out and hanged on a lamp-post. The court and the remaining ministers fled, and Vienna remained in possession of the revolutionists. A revolutionary government was organised, consisting of the democratic leaders of the Viennese diet, assisted by some members of the Frankfort parliament, who hastened to the spot for the purpose, and among whom the best known was Robert

Blum; and the military command of the city was intrusted to Bem, a Pole of Galicia, who had in his youth served as an officer in the French army which invaded Russia, and who, having returned to his country with other political refugees after many years of exile, chanced then to be in Vienna, where his reputation as a scientific military man was known to many.

464. The revolution in Vienna was a favourable occurrence for the Hungarians, as it occupied for the time the whole attention of the court. Windischgrätz and Jellachich, uniting their forces (October 20), laid siege to the city in the name of the emperor. For ten days the Viennese, commanded by Bem, under the diet, maintained the defence. Their sole hope of ultimate success, however, was that the Hungarians, in whose behalf they had made the revolution, would come to their relief. At this critical moment, the two diets—that of Vienna and that of Pesth—wavered. The Hungarian diet, anxious to the last moment to keep their struggle within constitutional bounds, hesitated to incur a charge of actual rebellion against their sovereign, by ordering an army raised solely for the defence of Hungary to pass the Hungarian frontier, and carry war into other parts of his majesty's dominions. It was known, moreover, that all the chief officers in the Hungarian army were loyal to the House of Hapsburg, and that, though willing to fight in the constitutional cause of Hungary, they would not be willing to aid in a Viennese revolution. On the other hand, the Viennese diet hesitated to give such a formal order to the Hungarians as would have diminished the force of these scruples. In this manner, time was lost. At last, the Hungarian diet mustered courage; and Kossuth, having been elected president of a committee of defence, hastened to the Hungarian army with a reinforcement of 10,000 men, and the necessary orders. The Hungarian general and his immediate subordinates still refused to lead the army into Austria; they resigned their commissions, and Kossuth gave the chief command to Colonel Görgey, the highest officer that was willing to take it. But it was too late. When the Hungarian army appeared before Vienna on

the 30th of October, the bombardment of the city was at an end, and Windischgrätz was already entering it. The Viennese were subjected to the usual consequences of an unsuccessful revolt: Blum and others were shot or hanged, and Bem escaped with difficulty. The Hungarians had no alternative but to retire to their own country, to prepare for the invasion which was now inevitable.

465. The activity of Kossuth and his associates during the three months which followed was prodigious. Recruiting went on everywhere; powder-mills were set to work; and foundries were established for cannon. The places of the Hungarian officers who had resigned were filled up by new men of all nations—Poles, Italians, and Englishmen, as well as Hungarians. Among the generals appointed, in addition to Görgey, were Bem, Dembinski, Klapka, Perczel, Damianich, and Guyon. At length, in December 1848, the war was begun by the invasion of Hungary with an imperialist army of 130,000 men, under Windischgrätz, Jellachich, and others. Battle after battle was fought; and for four months, Hungary was the scene of a war far more terrible and gigantic than any that Europe had known since the days of Napoleon. The successes of the Hungarians were such as to astonish the world; and the greatest sympathy for their cause was manifested both in Britain and France, though in neither country did the governments feel themselves called upon to interfere. By the month of April 1849, the Austrians, after many defeats, had been driven from Hungary; and the Hungarians, exulting in their liberation, had renounced their allegiance to the House of Hapsburg, and chosen Kossuth as their governor. Suddenly, it became known that the Austrian court had applied to Russia for assistance. Towards the close of April, a Russian army entering Hungary from the north, began to co-operate with fresh Austrian and Croatian armies. Even against this overwhelming force, the Hungarians kept up a brave defence till the 13th of August 1849, on which day Görgey, the Hungarian commander-in-chief, surrendered to the Russians. Hungary was now at the mercy of the victors. At first, there were rumours that the Russian emperor

meant to keep the country, and proclaim its independence of Austria, with one of his own sons as king. Content, however, with what he had done, the czar resigned Hungary back into the hands of the Austrian emperor, whose agents, and, in particular, Haynau, distinguished themselves by the horrible acts of cruelty perpetrated in his name by way of vengeance. Batthyani and many other noble and patriotic Hungarians were tried by martial law, and shot or hanged; and fearful excesses were committed in the towns and among the peasantry. Kossuth, Bem, Dembinski, and others, sought refuge in Turkey, having with difficulty reached the Turkish frontier. At first, the emperor of Russia threatened the Porte with his vengeance, unless these refugees were given up. The Turks nobly refused; and the British government taking their part, the czar desisted from his demand. Bem entered the Turkish service, in which he soon afterwards died; Kossuth, after being detained for some time in Asia Minor, was permitted to come to England.

466. The feeble Ferdinand II. was no longer emperor of Austria. After the suppression of the revolution in Vienna, he was persuaded by his advisers to abdicate in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph, a youth of eighteen years of age (December 5, 1848). It was in his name that the Hungarian war was carried on; and its conclusion, and simultaneous successes in Italy, to which we have yet to refer, having restored order throughout the Austrian dominions, he found himself at the head of all the territories which had belonged to his Hapsburg ancestors. Since that time, under a succession of ministers, he has governed these territories on those principles of absolute government which the revolution of 1848 had set aside, but which his armies re-established. In March 1849, indeed, while the Hungarian war was in progress, he granted a constitutional code, which was to take effect over all his dominions; but the issue of the war having enabled him to disregard that code, these dominions are now very much in the same position as they were prior to February 1848—Germans, Hungarians, Slavonians, and Italians being all equally kept in submission by means of

armies drawn from various parts of the empire, and a vigilant system of police.

467. Prussia and the Minor German States.—For a time, Prussia and the minor German states retained respectively the fruits of the revolution of 1848, and, under the auspices of the Frankfort parliament, prosecuted in common their further inquiries as to the means of establishing German national unity. Popular cries arose for a restoration of Poland, and a German war against Russia as the best means of turning the German revolution to account, and restoring Germany to unity and independence. The Prussian court, however, was able to divert the attention of the liberals from these objects, and to direct the roused feeling of German nationality into the channel of a war against Denmark in aid of the revolted duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. The origin of this revolt lay in the fact, that Holstein, though attached to the kingdom of Denmark, was in reality a German fief, the inhabitants of which considered themselves as Germans, and not as Danes. This had given rise to disputes between the Danish government and the Holsteiners, which were aggravated by the circumstance that, whereas, in the event of the extinction of the existing ruling line in Denmark, the succession to Holstein ought to go in a different line from that to Denmark, thus separating the duchy from the Danish crown, the Danish government was trying to secure a new law of succession which would perpetuate the connection of the duchy with Denmark. In support of their separate sovereignty, the Holsteiners had revolted; and the people of Schleswig, being also in the main German, and having similar causes of dissatisfaction with the Danish government, had joined in the revolt. The insurrection was in progress when the revolution of 1848 broke out; and the German liberals, finding no other vent for their national enthusiasm, took up the cause of the two duchies against Denmark. Prussia took the lead; and under her banners volunteers from all parts of Germany flocked across the Danish frontier (May 1848).

468. The cause with which German liberalism had thus identified itself was one with which the other European

powers had no sympathy. Britain and France, as well as Russia, whose interests were concerned in the integrity of the Danish dominions, protested against the German invasion of the duchies as a European scandal; and Austria, seeing her preponderance in Germany threatened by the proceedings of Prussia and the Frankfort parliament, took the same side. The diplomacy of Europe was employed to put an end to the war raging in the duchies, and which the Danes, on their side, were carrying on with astonishing spirit. In 1849, an armistice was arranged by the efforts of the interfering powers, by which the war was for a time arrested. This armistice gave great dissatisfaction in Germany; the Prussian king was accused of sacrificing the cause he had undertaken to lead; and the Frankfort parliament having confirmed the armistice, there arose tumults in that city as well as in Berlin. In Berlin, the king had lost his popularity, and the aspect of the people became so threatening, that he ordered the Prussian diet to hold its sittings no longer in Berlin, but in Brandenburg. The democratic party of the diet resisted, and, continuing to sit at Berlin, were dispersed by armed force. They met again, and tried to organise an opposition to the government by withholding the taxes; but the military again dispersed them, and overpowered all resistance in Berlin. The remaining portion of the diet, meeting at Brandenburg, was then dissolved; and the king, retracting the constitution of 1848, announced that he had a new one in preparation. This constitution was promulgated and sworn to in February 1850; since which time the Prussian king has ruled nominally as a constitutional monarch, by the aid of ministers, but really with much of the absolute power which he possessed prior to 1848.

469. The course of events has been similar in most of the minor German states, the constitutions granted in 1848 having been retracted or modified in all, or nearly all. In Hesse-Cassel, where the elector openly outraged the constitution by proceeding to levy taxes on his own authority, the people rose in revolt, and drove him from his dominions. Austria, having by this time restored

order within her own dominions, thought this a good opportunity for re-asserting the claims of the old federal diet, as against the Frankfort parliament, in matters of common interest to the confederacy; and, coming forward in her old capacity as the ruling power in the confederacy, she sent troops into Hesse-Cassel, ostensibly to arrange the differences between the elector and his subjects, but in reality to overawe the latter. This was equivalent to a declaration on the part of Austria that she was determined to put down the Frankfort parliament and the schemes of German reconstruction which had emanated from it, and to restore the old federal constitution of 1815, or something like it. Accordingly, Prussia, seeing her hopes of a new German Empire under her ascendancy about to be destroyed, made a last stand in their behalf. Frederick-William IV. called forth his armies, and prepared for a struggle with his young rival, Francis Joseph. Feeling, however, that he had already lost the confidence of the German liberals, and that the consequence of a war between Prussia and Austria would be but to let loose German democracy, to the peril of his own throne as well as that of his rival, he consented to negotiate. At a conference held at Olmütz, between the Prussian minister Manteuffel, and the Austrian minister Schwartzenberg, and at a subsequent conference at Dresden, a treaty was arranged by which the dispute between the two states was adjusted, Prussia consenting to accept the old federal constitution, with certain modifications in favour of her own claims. Thus the last remaining traces of the revolution of 1848, in the mechanism of the German confederacy, were swept away: the Austrians restored the elector in Hesse-Cassel; the Frankfort parliament died a natural death, after having spoken much and done nothing; and the war in the Danish duchies having been brought to a close by a great victory of the Danes at Idstedt in 1852, the Prussian king consented to a pacification, arranged by the European powers—Austria included—and abandoned the cause of German unity, and, with it, the scheme of Prussian ascendancy in Germany.

470. ITALY.—During the first half of the year 1848, the Italians, rejoicing in their new liberty, were intent on the prosecution of the war against the Austrians. That war successfully accomplished, and the whole of Italy being thus freed from the yoke of the foreigner, they were then to proceed happily and quietly to the consideration of questions as to the future of their liberated country—some content with the prospect of constitutional government for the various Italian populations separately under their respective sovereigns; others looking forward to arrangements which would unite these various populations, by some kind of federal constitution or central power, into one great Italian nation, capable of taking its place and acting a distinct part among the nations of Europe! Meanwhile, all hung on the issue of the war in Northern Italy, which Charles Albert had undertaken to carry on in the name of all Italians alike—Romans, Tuscans, and Neapolitans, as well as Sardinians and Lombards. Even if his motives were, in part, those of personal and dynastic ambition—even if his object was to add Lombardy to his own dominions—it was felt that in the meantime he was the representative of the common Italian cause, and that it would be time to settle his claims when all Italy had been cleared of the Austrians. This, however, was not destined to be accomplished. Partly through mismanagement on the part of Charles Albert himself, partly through the superiority of the Austrian forces and the superior strategy of the aged Radetzky, the campaign of 1848 was closed, unfortunately for the Italians, by a battle at Custoza (July 24). By this battle, the Austrians became once more masters of Lombardy, recovering all the territory and towns which they had lost in Northern Italy, with the exception of Venice. The Venetians, who had associated themselves with Charles Albert, resolved, notwithstanding his defeat, to continue the war of independence on their own account; and raising their ancient republican standard of St Mark, the symbol of the glorious days of their history, they constituted themselves into a republic, under a triumvirate, of whom the most influential member was

a patriot named Manin. The Austrians, as soon as they were established in Lombardy, laid siege to Venice.

471. The defeat of Charles Albert was a heavy blow to Italian freedom; and the Italian sovereigns availed themselves of it to begin a reactionary policy within their respective states. Ferdinand II. of Naples set the example. A man of cruel and malignant heart, he had yielded to the revolution only through fear, and with a determination to retract what he had conceded as soon as he could. As early as the 15th of May 1848, he had contrived, by stirring up a riot among the lazzaroni of Naples, to employ military force against the citizens, and, after a fearful massacre in the streets, to become master of the city. He then recalled the Neapolitan army which he had reluctantly sent, under General Pepe, to assist Charles Albert in the Lombard war. The bulk of the army did return; but General Pepe himself, with a band of volunteers who adhered to him, threw himself into Venice, to assist the Venetians against the Austrians. After the battle of Custoza, Ferdinand threw off all disguise, and openly professed his determination to restore despotism throughout his dominions. The constitution was annulled; the ministers whom the king had himself chosen to carry on the government under the constitution were imprisoned or driven into exile; and the worst horrors of tyranny were perpetrated in Naples. In Sicily, after terrible conflicts between the people and the soldiery, the latter were defeated; and the Sicilians, declaring themselves independent, dethroned Ferdinand, and invited the Duke of Genoa, the second son of Charles Albert, to be their king. Subsequent events prevented the conclusion of this arrangement; and after a brave struggle, in the course of which Britain and France shewed some disposition to support the Sicilians, the cannon of Ferdinand overpowered all resistance, and the unfortunate island lay at his mercy (March 1849).

472. In the Roman states, the process of reaction was more gradual. The pope, indeed, had from the first been adverse to the war against Austria, and had yielded with reluctance to the demand of the Romans to participate in

it. As the war proceeded, it was evident that his heart was more with the Austrians than with Charles Albert; and when the Austrians, after the defeat of Charles Albert, invaded the Roman territories, he seemed hardly to thank his subjects for driving them back. Still, he continued to govern the Romans according to the constitution he had granted them, his policy being to choose ministers of as moderate views as possible, who would help him to check the further progress of revolution among his subjects. This becoming evident, he gradually lost his popularity. At length, the assassination (November 15, 1848) of his minister Rossi, whom the Romans accused of retrograde tendencies, completely broke all ties of good feeling between the pope and his subjects; and, eight days after that event, he escaped from Rome in the disguise of a footman, and took refuge at Gaeta, in the dominions of the king of Naples. This open association of the pope with the Italian sovereign most notoriously allied with Austria, indicated that a complete change had come over his views, and that, as he had been the pioneer of the revolution in Italy, he was now its avowed enemy. Nevertheless, the Romans sent two deputations to Gaeta, imploring him to return, and not leave Rome to anarchy. He refused to see either deputation. The constitutional Roman parliament, having no powers to provide for such an emergency, declared itself dissolved, and called upon the population of the Roman states to elect by universal suffrage a constituent assembly to make the necessary arrangements. This assembly, consisting of 150 members, met at Rome on the 6th of February 1849; and on the 9th of February, two measures were passed—one, which was carried with only five dissentient voices, abolishing the temporal sovereignty of the pope in the Roman dominions; the other, which was carried with only eleven dissentient voices, constituting the Roman states into a republic. Not long after these important measures had been passed, Mazzini arrived in Rome. Recalled from his exile in England by the revolution of 1848, he had during the intervening months been actively engaged in Tuscany, Lombardy, and elsewhere, directing the

movements of his party; and since the conclusion of the war in Lombardy, he had been wandering about with Garibaldi and a band of volunteers who were anxious still to continue the struggle which Charles Albert had been obliged to give up. At Rome, he was received with acclamations, and immediately elected a member of the assembly; and a triumvirate having been chosen to conduct the executive of the new republic, Mazzini became chief triumvir. Under his presidency, the Romans proceeded to draw up a new constitution, and to make arrangements for the defence of the republic against the coalition which they saw forming at Gaeta, where the king of Naples, and envoys from the various Catholic powers of Europe, were taking counsel with the pope.

473. The events at Rome and Venice, and the success with which at this time the Hungarians were struggling with the Austrians out of Italy, encouraged Charles Albert to make a new attempt in the cause of Italian independence. The attempt ended at once in a disastrous failure, the Sardinian army sustaining a defeat from the Austrians under Radetzky, at Novara, on the 25th of March 1849. Feeling that he had staked his crown on the issue of the enterprise in which he had thus failed, Charles Albert immediately abdicated in favour of his son Victor II., the present king, and went into exile in Portugal, where he soon afterwards died, broken-hearted with his misfortunes. His son, whom the Austrians, at the solicitation of Britain and France, permitted to retain his paternal dominions, necessarily came under engagements which prevented him from renewing the war; and thus, in the spring of 1849, the two republics of Rome and Venice alone remained to oppose the Austrian and Neapolitan courts in their resolution to crush the revolution throughout the whole peninsula.

474. Until the accession of Louis Napoleon to the presidency of the French republic (December 1848), the Romans and Venetians had not given up hopes of assistance from the French government; and intimation had even been given to the Venetians that a French fleet

would be sent to the Adriatic to co-operate with them against the Austrians. But with the accession of Louis Napoleon to the presidency, there came a visible change in the policy of France—a change which was confirmed by the triumph of the Austrians at Novara. It was resolved not to assist the Venetians; and, accordingly, after a brave defence, conducted by Manin and General Pepe, they were obliged to surrender. More extraordinary still was the conduct of the French government towards the Roman republic. France, itself a republic, determined to lend its forces not to support the sister-republic of Rome, but to extinguish it, and restore the government of the pope. This determination, in which Thiers, De Tocqueville, Drouyn de Lhuys, and other leading French statesmen agreed with Louis Napoleon, was defended on the principle that the Roman territory, as being the seat of the papacy, belonged not to the Romans, but to the whole Catholic world, and that consequently the Romans could not be allowed the right which other peoples had of setting up and pulling down their own government. It was necessary, the French statesmen said, that there should be a papacy, and it was necessary that the holder of the papacy should be sovereign of Rome; consequently, France, as a Catholic country, was bound to restore the pope. The Romans, hearing of this intention of the French, trusted that at least Great Britain, as a Protestant power, would do something in their favour; and envoys were sent from Rome to London to consult the British government. The British government, however, declined to help the Romans, and instructed the British ambassador at Paris to state that they acquiesced in the proposal of the French government to restore the pope, but hoped that guarantees would be taken from the pope that he would for the future govern in a constitutional manner. Accordingly, on the 24th of April 1849, a French army under General Oudinot landed at Civita Vecchia. The Roman assembly charged Mazzini and his fellow-triumvirs to resist the invasion; and the French, who had expected them to yield, were obliged to march in hostile array to Rome, and besiege it.

For two months, the Romans, who had only 14,000 armed men in the city, defended it against 30,000 French soldiers in a manner which excited the astonishment of Europe; but at last, on the 3d of July, the city was defenceless, and the French entered it. They remained exclusive masters of the city till April 1850, when the pope returned, and re-established his government under their protection.

475. Thus, by the middle of the year 1849 the revolution was put down in all parts of Italy; and since that time, the condition of most parts of Italy has been worse than it was before the revolution. The Austrians, as masters of Lombardy and Venice, maintain their rule as before by military terror; the grand-duke of Tuscany, popular before the revolution, on account of his mild rule, has been obliged by the Austrians, who assist him to keep down his subjects, to govern them in conformity with the methods of absolutism; the petty dukes of Parma and Modena, also kept in their places by the Austrians, also rule despotically; the government of Pope Pius IX. and his cardinals, notwithstanding the expressed desire of the British government that the French would exact from them securities for the better government of the Roman states, has been relentlessly despotic; and the state of the Neapolitan dominions, under their cruel tyrant, has been such as to draw down the indignation of the most calm and moderate men all over Europe. In the Piedmontese or Sardinian states alone, is there any remaining liberty. Preserving their parliament and other liberal institutions, the people of these states have advanced in a quiet and moderate career of reform under their king, Victor; and their present condition is in singular contrast to that of the rest of Italy. Recently, there have been disputes between the Sardinian government and the papacy, occasioned by the boldness of the Sardinian king and his ministers in resisting the claims of the pope to interfere with the internal affairs of the kingdom.

476. At this point, we conclude our History. The profound lull or sleep, indeed, in which Europe had lain since the completion of the revolutionary movement of 1848–51, has recently been interrupted. Enough has been said in some of the preceding paragraphs to explain the preponderant position of Russia in the affairs of the Old World, and the successive steps by which, since the accession of Peter the Great, that position has been attained. The peculiar relations of Russia to Turkey have also been indicated. The reader will therefore be at no loss to account for the fact, that when, in 1853, the late emperor, Nicholas, disclosed his intentions of making new demands on the Porte, the Western Powers thought themselves called upon to assist the Porte against him. A Russian army having invaded the Danubian principalities of Turkey, and all attempts at negotiation having failed, France and Great Britain (March 1854) declared war against the Russian emperor.

477. The war lasted two years. By sea, little else was effected by the powerful armaments which the Allies fitted out than to blockade the coasts of Russia in the Baltic and Black Seas, and keep the Russian fleets shut up in harbour. But the war on land was more eventful. The British and French troops were first landed at Varna in European Turkey (April 1854). The valour of the Turks themselves, however, in defending Silistria, having compelled the Russians to retreat (June), the Allied commanders changed their plan of operations, and resolved to invade the Crimea. On the 14th of September, a British army of 25,000 men, a French force somewhat more numerous, and about 8000 Turks, landed, without opposition, on the west coast of this important peninsula. On the 20th, they attacked and defeated the Russians assembled to oppose them on the river Alma, and so forced their way to Sebastopol. The capture of this great stronghold of the Russian power was almost the sole object of the Allies during the remainder of the war. The resistance of the Russians, and the strength of the fortifications, surpassed all expectation. Shot and shell were poured into the town, and two sanguinary battles were fought

near it—one at Balaklava (October 25), and the other at Inkermann (November 5); but still the defence was continued. In the spring of 1855, Sardinia joined the Allies, and sent an army to their assistance. At length, after a terrible cannonade, an assault was made, and the south side of Sebastopol was taken (September 8, 1855). This event induced Russia to desire peace; and it was arranged that a congress should be held at Paris to settle the terms of a treaty. The congress met, and on the 30th of March 1856 a Treaty of Peace was signed. Many suppose that this treaty will not long arrest the aggressive tendencies of Russia. Meanwhile, it is consoling to think that the prospects of the human race are not entirely dependent on Russian aggression or its consequences. Far beyond the reach of Russian control, and containing in itself the promise of an efficient counterpoise against Russian ascendancy, even should it reach the limits imagined by the fears of many, is the great civilisation of America. Still advancing, with rapid strides and undiminished energy, the American people stand aloof from the Old World, and content themselves with extending their possessions in the New, covering it with their institutions and the evidences of their skill and industry. The discovery of gold in California shortly after the cession of that territory to the United States by Mexico (1849), has had a prodigious effect in accelerating the colonisation of the Pacific side of the continent. In a similar manner, the discovery of gold-fields in Australia (1851) has enormously increased emigration to that vast colony of Britain—itself an infant continent. Let the fate of humanity in the Old World be what it will, a process has been begun in America and Australia which insures the perpetuation of Anglo-Saxon rule and civilisation in those vast regions of the future, and is preparing them to be the scenes of histories perhaps more wonderful than any the world has yet known.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER.

ART, SCIENCE, AND LITERATURE SINCE THE REFORMATION.

478. THE ARTS SINCE THE REFORMATION.—The arts are divided into two groups or classes—the Industrial Arts, or the arts necessary for the sustenance and comfort of human life; and the Fine Arts, or the arts demanded by the human mind for the satisfaction of its higher and more spiritual wants.

479. I. *The Industrial Arts.*—In these arts, very great progress has been made in all civilised countries since the Reformation, partly in consequence of the stimulus given in each country to human ingenuity by the necessities of an increasing population and the demands of increasing luxury, and partly in consequence of those extended means of intercourse which have enabled nations more rapidly to borrow suggestions from each other. 1. In *Agriculture* and *Husbandry* there have been great improvements. These have originated in Britain and other countries from the necessity of breaking in upon new lands and adopting more careful methods of cultivation in order to support a larger population; while, at the same time, new products have been introduced from one land to another, and reared generally as food for men and cattle. 'It was not till the reign of Henry VIII.,' says Hume, 'that salads, carrots, turnips, or other edible roots were produced in England; the little of these vegetables that was used was imported from Holland and Flanders. Queen Catherine, when she wanted a salad, was obliged to despatch a messenger thither on purpose.' This, though somewhat exaggerated, will serve to indicate the kind of progress made in husbandry by the gradual naturalisation in one country of vegetable products indigenous to another. Among the

vegetable products which have come into extensive use since the period of the Reformation, some deserve special notice. Sugar, though known to the ancients, was not introduced into Europe from the East till after the Crusades; it was then naturalised in Spain and other southern countries, whence it was carried by the Spaniards to the West Indies (1515). Tobacco, originally an American plant, was brought over by the Spaniards and Portuguese about 1520; it was first known in Britain about 1590; and since that time it has been grown in various parts of Europe and Asia, and used over the whole world. The potato was likewise first brought from America; it was regarded as a rarity till about the beginning of the eighteenth century, when it began to be cultivated as a common article of food in Ireland and elsewhere; since which time, notwithstanding much opposition, it has become a cheap and universal favourite. Coffee and tea may be said to have come into use within the last century and a half. The latter is still chiefly supplied from its native country China; the former was at first supplied only from Arabia, till the Dutch brought a plant or two of it thence about the year 1718, from which plants, it is believed, all the coffee now grown in the East and West Indies is derived. The use of coffee and tea as beverages, and of tobacco as a narcotic, cannot have been without considerable effects on the human temperament; and there are some who trace many of the differences observed among men during the last century or two, as compared with the men of previous times, to the great change in the system of diet occasioned by the use of these three articles. In fact, however, it is not in respect of these three articles alone that the system of diet has been changed. Bread, meat, fish, and vegetables have in all ages been the constituents of human food, the proportion of these constituents varying with climate, custom, and the means of the consumers. But the forms of these staple articles of food are themselves constantly varying; and in most countries, during the last 300 years, they have varied considerably. Some kinds of grain have been employed more extensively than before in making bread; new breeds of animals and new kinds

of poultry have been used to supply the table; there are fish in our markets unknown to our ancestors; while, as has just been shewn, we now cultivate an infinite variety of vegetables, as well as of fruits, the names of which were not familiar three centuries ago. The aspect of the fields, and the fruit and kitchen gardens, of almost any country in Europe, and of none more than Britain, is totally different from that which the same spots presented to their natives a century or two ago; and that not only from the more careful culture now bestowed upon them, but also from the number of products, formerly exotic, which they now bear. Potatoes, turnips, and other such crops now divide the attention of the farmer with wheat, oats, barley, and other such ancient forms of field-produce: our kitchen-gardens are stocked with importations from abroad; we have hundreds of flowers, of beautiful form and colour, in our flower-gardens, which our ancestors never saw; and even the pastures on which our cattle feed consist, in part, of artificial grasses and kinds of herbage which the less-favoured cattle of former generations never tasted. Were an Englishman of the fifteenth century to rise from his grave, and glance once more at his native place or county, he would find the great natural features of the scenery unchanged, the trees still very much the same in species as those to which he had been accustomed, and the wild-flowers and grasses the same; but he would find the proportions of cultivated land, pasture, forest, and common very different, and the vegetation in the two former in many respects strange. Fancy, thus instructed, may enable the reader to conceive the progress of agriculture and its connected arts in other civilised countries of the Old World; while for the New World he must imagine still greater changes—the clearing of forests, the firing of prairies, the introduction, for the first time, of horses and cattle, and all those numberless labours and processes by which waste continents have been made habitable. 2. In *Mining, Manufactures,* &c., a similar progress has been made to what has been made in agriculture. Coal, though known before, first came into extensive use as a fuel in the sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries; since which time coal-fields have been discovered and worked, with enormously increasing demand, in all parts of the world. The use of iron may be said to have kept pace with that of coal, but a small quantity of that now universally employed metal having been used in the middle ages, owing to the backward state of mining and metal-working. Brass also, in the modern sense of that term, as implying a mixture of copper and zinc, has come into general use within the last three centuries—what was called brass before that time being for the most part bronze, which is a mixture of copper and tin. Brass was known, however, as a natural ore or occasional artificial formation in foundries, before zinc, one of its ingredients, was identified as a distinct metal. This was done about the year 1530 by the alchemist Paracelsus, antimony and bismuth being also discovered about the same time. Till then, the only metals known had been gold, silver, iron, copper, mercury, lead, and tin: the three above-named metals increased the number to ten; and it was not till the middle of the eighteenth century that this number received further extensions by the discovery of arsenic, platinum, manganese, nickel, &c.; while it was reserved for the chemical research of the last fifty years to detect the numerous additional metals incorporated in smaller quantities with various earths and salts. Various new processes in the arts have followed the discovery of each of the more important metals above mentioned. And what has been done in metal-working and its applications, has been done in other arts. The manufacture of spirits by distillation is a comparatively modern process; for though the ancients and the Arabs distilled aromatic essences, the first mention of an intoxicating spirit obtained by distillation occurs in the thirteenth century; and it is since the fifteenth that brandy, gin, whisky, rum, and other such spirits have been used in addition to beer, wine, and other merely fermented liquors, for the purposes of intoxication. The new pigments and dye-stuffs, as well as the new dyeing and colouring processes introduced into use during the last three centuries, [illegible] very numerous; and the development of all the textile

manufactures, whether in woollen, linen, cotton, or silk, has been prodigious. So with glass-manufacture, and, in fact, every kind of industrial process that can be named.

480. While this improvement in the whole range of the industrial arts during the last three centuries has been, in part, the mere result of continued exercise in them leading to increased skill in old forms of labour, and to accidental and isolated discoveries, it has been, in a far greater degree, the result of two causes—the systematic application of the new scientific knowledge, acquired in such abundance during the period in question, to the express purpose of perfecting the industrial arts, and the wonderful progress that has been made during the same time in the specific business of mechanical invention or machine-making. We shall hereafter refer to some of the industrial consequences of the progress of science under their proper heads; in the meantime, let us sketch the progress of mechanical invention, properly so called.

481. The use of tools or simple machines for abridging human labour is coeval with the existence of the human race. The lever, the inclined plane, the wheel and axle, the pulley, the wedge, and the screw—which six contrivances, as being the simplest of all machines, are called the 'mechanical powers'—have all been known from time immemorial, as well as such combinations of them as the knife, the chisel, the hammer, the axe, the saw, the plough, the cart or wagon, the windlass, &c. Nor were machines of a more complex nature wanting among the ancients. The spinning-wheel, the potter's-wheel, the loom, the turning-lathe, the pump, the mill for grinding corn, are all among the most ancient inventions; and machines far more complex than these, and consisting of numerous wheels fitting into each other by teeth, are described by Vitruvius and other ancient writers as having been used by quarrymen and builders, and for hurling stones, &c., for the purposes of warfare. In short, among the Greeks and Romans, engineering had all the dignity of a profession. It has been reserved for modern times, however, to shew what mechanical invention may do. Throughout

the middle ages, the various nations of Europe were content with such tools and machines as the ancients had handed down to them, if, indeed, they had not lost some which were known to the ancients. Perhaps the most important additions made by the middle ages to the mechanical apparatus they had thus inherited from the ancients were wind-mills and clocks. Water-mills, in which running water was employed to turn a wheel, and thus drive a machine for grinding corn, sawing wood, or such like, were in use long before wind-mills, of which we find no mention before the twelfth century, while they were not in general use till the fourteenth. About the same time, clocks became common. Horologes, or time-measurers of various kinds, had been in use among the ancients; but they were all essentially either sun-dials or water-clocks—in which duration was marked by the time taken by water to flow out of a vessel through an orifice—or sand-glasses. Clocks proper—that is, clocks moved by wheels and weights—seem to have been invented about the eleventh or twelfth century, and to have been first used in monasteries. Accounts exist of very ingenious clocks constructed about this time, which struck the hours, and exhibited curious contrivances besides. It was not till the fifteenth century that the custom of erecting clocks openly in public places in the streets of towns became common. Watches, in which the moving-power is a spring instead of weights, are a much later invention than clocks; there are traces of them in the fifteenth century, but they did not come into use till about the period of the Reformation, when sovereigns and rich men obtained them as curiosities. From that time, they became common; the horologe-makers, who made both clocks and watches, became an important corporation in all the great cities of Europe, and great ingenuity was expended in the construction of horologes in the shape of toys.

482. There is no doubt that the invention of clocks and watches, leading as it did to a fondness for mechanical contrivance in general, gave an impulse to mechanical invention which was felt throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During that time, many mechanical

inventions of various kinds were made and perfected. Of these, the most important relate to what are called the textile manufactures—that is, the arts by which fabrics suitable for clothing or ornament are made from different animal and vegetable fibres—such as wool, flax, silk, and cotton.

483. There are, in the main, four processes of textile manufacture—spinning, by which the fibres are first worked into long threads or yarns; knitting, by which a kind of cloth of loose texture, or fabrics of net and lace work, are manufactured by looping single threads together; weaving proper, by which cloths of various kinds are manufactured by throwing transverse threads, called the woof, alternately over and underneath a number of longitudinal threads called the warp; and embroidery, by which patterns and decorations are worked on the surface of cloths already woven. All these processes, in at least some of their varieties, had been in operation in all civilised countries from time immemorial—applied first to wool, flax, &c., and after the introduction of silk and cotton, to these substances also. The instruments for spinning thread were first the spindle and distaff, and afterwards the spinning-wheel—while ropes and such like were made by twisting threads together; knitting, as in making fishing-nets and other finer work of the kind, was performed by hand with the assistance of pins and needles; weaving was performed by means of the loom and shuttle, the essential forms of which were the same in all countries; and embroidery, or the decoration of the cloth with coloured devices and patterns, when not already performed in the process of weaving, was the subsequent work of the needle.

484. Prior to the sixteenth century, weaving proper had reached a high degree of perfection, particularly in Italy, France, and Flanders, where it formed one of the chief industrial occupations of the populations of Genoa, Florence, Brussels, Antwerp, Lille, Tournay, Bruges, Valenciennes, Arras, and other towns. There, by steady practice and by successive improvements in the ordinary loom, the weavers had acquired the art not only of plain weaving,

or the production of cloth of one texture and colour throughout, and of stripe and check weaving, and twill or damask weaving, but also of rich pattern-weaving, and of tapestry-weaving, and pile or velvet weaving. The tapestries of France, Flanders, and of some parts of Italy, in the fifteenth century, were extraordinary specimens of skill in weaving, exhibiting not only devices of men and animals, but well-composed scenes from history and common life, and sometimes copies of the master-pieces of painters, all worked on canvas or silk by the loom in a manner far excelling the needle-work tapestries on which the ladies of the earlier part of the middle ages had spent their time. Vast sums were given for these tapestries, which were used as hangings in royal palaces and in the mansions of nobles. In the reign of Francis I. of France (1515–1547), who greatly encouraged tapestry-weaving, and established it in Paris, some further improvements in the art were introduced, which attained their perfection nearly a century after, when Colbert, the minister of Louis XIV., founded the famous tapestry-manufacture of Gobelines (1666). Tapestry-weaving was introduced into England by a gentleman named Sheldon, in the reign of Henry VIII., prior to which time only the plainer kinds of weaving had been practised in English looms. Pile-weaving still continued to be practised with most success in Italy, the silk-velvets of which, and especially those of Genoa, were highly esteemed. Carpet-weaving was scarcely practised at all in Europe, carpets being rare and costly articles of luxury which were brought from Turkey and the East.

485. While weaving had thus made such great advances, knitting was for a time far behind. It was not till the early part of the sixteenth century that stocking-knitting, as distinct from the knitting of loose net-work, was practised. Till that time, coverings for the legs were made of woven cloth or leather; but the art of close-knitting having been invented about the year 1517—some say in Scotland, others in Spain—the superior convenience of knit hose was at once recognised. Henry VIII. procured a pair of knit silk-stockings from Spain; but it

was not till the reign of Elizabeth that stockings came into fashion in England; and long afterwards, many persisted in wearing their cloth-leggings. Almost simultaneous with the introduction of stocking-knitting was that of lace-knitting, or the making of pillow-lace, the invention of which, as distinct from the making of point-lace by the needle, is ascribed to a Saxon matron named Barbara Uttmann, who died in 1575. But by far the most important invention in textile manufactures made during this century was that of the stocking-loom, by which the process of knitting, like that of weaving, was accomplished by a machine. The author of this invention was an Englishman named William Lee; and the popular story is, that, having been reduced to poverty by being expelled from his college in Cambridge, in 1589, for marrying contrary to the statutes, he was led to make the invention by watching the motion of his wife's fingers while she was engaged in knitting articles for their support. By the loom which he invented, the construction of which was extremely elaborate and ingenious, stockings could be fabricated a thousand times faster than by hand-knitting. Accordingly, he settled in the vicinity of Nottingham as a stocking-weaver; but meeting with little encouragement either during the reign of Elizabeth or that of James I., he removed to France, where, under the auspices of Sully, the minister of Henry IV., he was well employed. Stocking-weaving was practised to a considerable extent in that country, till the persecutions of the Protestants drove it back to England, where, in 1663, Charles II. granted a charter to the framework-knitters, or stocking-weavers, as a London corporation. Six years after this date, there were 700 stocking-looms in England, employing 1200 workmen, of whom three-fifths made silk-stockings, and the others woollen or worsted.

486. Thus, at the close of the seventeenth, and the beginning of the eighteenth century, machinery had been successfully applied not only to cloth-weaving of all kinds, but also to the manufacture of all the various articles included under the name of hosiery; though, in secluded districts—as is still the case—hosiery continued to be knit

by hand by females for the supply of their own or their neighbours' households. Spinning, meanwhile, continued to be performed in the simple old way—the threads used by the weavers and makers of hosiery being all produced singly by the spinning-wheel. Lace, also, was still made by the hand, either by the plan of pillow-knitting or by the needle, like other kinds of delicate embroidery. In the course of the eighteenth century, however, numerous improvements were made which entirely changed the system of textile manufactures. By far the most important of these improvements were made in England, and were owing to the assiduity with which, in the midland districts of that country, one particular branch of textile manufactures—namely, the cotton-manufactures—began at this time to be carried on.

487. Cotton, originally brought from the East, and afterwards from some of the European colonies in America, as well as grown on the southern shores of Europe, had been in use to some extent throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, more especially in Spain and Italy, in both of which countries coarse cotton fabrics, such as sail-cloth and fustian, were manufactured, and sent into the market to compete with the corresponding linen and hempen manufactures, while the finer kinds of cotton fabrics, such as calicoes and muslins, were still imported from the East. The manufacture travelled northwards, and was introduced into England from the Netherlands about the beginning of the seventeenth century. 'The town of Manchester,' says a writer of the year 1641, 'buys cotton wool from London that comes from Cyprus and Smyrna, and works the same into fustians, vermillians, and dimities.' The weavers of this town and the adjacent parts of England sometimes bought the yarn ready-made, and wove it in their own cottages into cloth, which they took to the market and sold to dealers; but more frequently they bought the raw cotton, and had it carded and spun into yarn for themselves by their wives and daughters. Cotton-yarn, however, was only used for the woof, as it could not be made strong enough for the warp, for which, accordingly, linen-yarn was still employed. At

the same time, cotton-thread began to be used extensively, instead of woollen and silk, in the manufacture of stockings in London, Derby, Nottingham, and other places; and the impulse thus given to the stocking-trade was such that, by 1753, the number of stocking-frames in England had increased to 14,000. The industrial bustle and competition of which various parts of England, and especially the middle and northern counties, thus became the scene, soon stimulated invention. In 1758, Jedediah Strutt, a hosier of Belper in Derbyshire, made an improvement on the stocking-loom, by which it was made capable of fabricating ribbed stockings. This invention, however, was insignificant, compared with some others made about the same time, and which had reference to the prior process of spinning the yarn used both by the stocking-weavers and the cloth-weavers. Such was the demand for cotton-manufactures, that it was found that all the spinning-wheels at work in the cottages of the country could not supply yarn fast enough for weft to the weavers. In these circumstances, James Hargreaves, an illiterate but ingenious weaver in Lancashire, invented, first a carding-machine for assisting the spinners (1760), and afterwards the spinning-jenny, a machine whereby a number of spindles at once could be made to revolve by a single wheel, so as to spin not one thread, but as many as ten, or twenty, or even eighty threads at a time (1767). The hand-spinners were alarmed by this invention, which threatened to take away their bread, and broke into the house of Hargreaves and destroyed his machine; and it was not till after serious riots that the jenny was fully brought into operation, and the spinning-wheel superseded or banished to remote districts and private families. Still the cotton-yarn made by the jenny was, like that hand-spun, suitable only for the weft of cloth; and it was reserved for another extraordinary man to invent a process by which cotton-yarn could be made fit for warp. This was Richard Arkwright of Preston (1732–1792), originally a barber, but afterwards, in his days of success, knighted by George III. Of a mechanical turn, and living in the midst of cotton-manufactures, Arkwright,

after much thought and labour, produced a machine whereby yarn could be spun by means of rollers (1769). He associated himself with Jedediah Strutt, above mentioned, and with a Mr Need; and, having taken out a patent for his method, set up a spinning-mill in Derbyshire. A violent combination, however, having been formed against him by the Lancashire spinners, who still continued to use linen-yarn for their warp, Arkwright was driven in self-defence to establish stocking and other manufactures, for the consumption of his own yarn. He introduced the manufacture of cotton-calicoes, then new in England; and, though he had many obstacles to encounter from the state of the patent and excise laws, as well as from private ill-will, his talents for business were such that, before his death, he had entirely revolutionised the cotton-manufactures of Britain, and acquired an immense fortune. Less fortunate personally, though his invention was necessary to complete the revolution which Arkwright had begun, was Samuel Crompton of Bolton, the inventor of the mule-jenny. This machine, in which the spinning-jenny of Hargreaves was combined with the roller-machine of Arkwright, was invented about 1780, but was not brought into operation till about 1787. Its peculiarity was that, whereas by no previous process could cotton-yarn be produced beyond a certain degree of fineness, it could produce cotton so fine as to be fit for the manufacture of muslins and other delicate cotton fabrics. The consequence was that, though Crompton did not patent his machine, and continued, till some friends procured him a reward from government, to carry on a small weaving business of his own in Bolton, immense quantities of muslin began to be made out of British yarn by his invention in the towns of Lancashire and in Glasgow and Paisley. In short, the result of the inventions of Hargreaves, Arkwright, and Crompton, was that, during the last ten years of last century, the cotton-manufacture in all its branches, including the important art of calico and muslin printing, had become a staple industry in Great Britain, employing enormous capital and many thousands of hands. The only branch of the

manufacture which was still somewhat backward was lace-making. About the year 1770, a modification of the stocking-loom had been brought into use at Nottingham, by which various kinds of net goods were manufactured. These, however, were inferior to the pillow-lace made by hand, and a machine which would make lace equal to pillow-lace was still a desideratum. This desideratum was at last supplied in 1809 by John Heathcoat, a weaver of Nottingham, who invented the bobbin-net machine —a machine so ingenious and complex, that, with its modern improvements, it has been pronounced 'as much beyond the most curious chronometer in multiplicity of mechanical device as that is beyond a common roasting-jack.' Its invention immediately opened up a new field for capital and industry, at the same time that it led to a kind of epidemic enthusiasm for mechanical contrivances among those engaged in manufactures.

488. While Britain thus almost monopolised the cotton-manufactures of the world, the woollen, linen, and silk manufactures, which it shared with other countries, were not neglected. In addition to woollen hosiery and broad-cloth—the coarser kinds of which latter fabric were made from native wool, while the finer were made first from Spanish wool, and, after 1768, from the wool of a breed of Spanish sheep naturalised in Saxony—the British weavers began in the eighteenth century to manufacture carpets, shawls, and other such fabrics in wool, though the best kinds of such fabrics continued to be imported from the Netherlands, Turkey, and the East. Linen-manufactures also increased largely, more especially in Scotland and Ireland. Silk-manufacture, which was first introduced into England by a number of French Protestant refugees, who settled at Spitalfields and other places in 1685, became, in the course of the next century, a flourishing branch of industry, which the government tried to foster by imposing restrictions on the importation of the rival silk goods of French, Indian, and Chinese manufacture. In all these manufactures, the process of spinning the yarn was performed by the spinning-wheel, and that of weaving the fabric by the handloom, just as in the cotton-

manufacture—with certain modifications of apparatus, rendered necessary by the difference of material. One very important improvement, introduced originally in silk-weaving, but since applied in other branches of textile manufacture, was the Jacquard-loom, invented in 1801 by Joseph-Marie Jacquard, a silk-weaver of Lyon, and which, after much opposition, and even persecution, on the part of the French silk-weavers, became universal. By this invention, silks of the most beautiful fancy patterns could be woven as easily as plain silks, and almost as cheaply. Some less important inventions were also made about the same time in France and elsewhere, applicable to the manufacture of ribbons and velvets; while many fabrics with new names, both in silk, and in mixtures of silk and woollen, and silk and cotton, superseded the older fabrics.

489. The grand invention, however, the application of which to all the foregoing kinds of textile manufacture was necessary to give them their full expansion, was one the uses of which are by no means confined to this or to any other department of industry, but are co-extensive with the whole field of modern industrial art—this was the steam-engine. Hitherto, whatever industrial processes were performed—whether spinning, weaving, pumping, hammering, raising weights, or any other—and whatever machines were used to assist in these processes, the *powers* by which the machines were driven were either the muscular strength of man himself, as in the handloom; or that of other animals employed singly or in numbers, as in the horse-mill; or the force of running or falling water, as in water-mills; or that of the wind, as in wind-mills and ships; or that of descending or swinging weights, as in clocks; or that of elastic springs, as in watches; or, occasionally, that of blasts of gunpowder and other explosive substances, as in artillery and guns. All this while, however, the world possessed a power infinitely greater than any of these, though not yet turned to account—the expansive force of water and other fluids when in the act of being converted into steam by heat. It was known from time immemorial that water, on being converted into

steam, expanded to a bulk many hundred times its own; but the idea of converting this property of water into a motive-power seems, with a few exceptions, hardly to have occurred to any one before the seventeenth century. In that century, steam-apparatus of a certain sort were proposed or actually constructed by the Marquis of Worcester and Captain Savery in England, and by one or two persons in France; but the first true steam-engine—that is, the first engine in which steam was employed to move a piston up and down in a box or cylinder, so as to set other machinery agoing—was that of Thomas Newcomen, an English blacksmith (1705). This engine—in which steam rushing from a boiler into a cylinder, moved up a piston attached to a beam, which then fell when the cooling of the steam by cold water had produced a vacuum in the cylinder—was used exclusively for pumping the water out of mines. Some improvements had been made in it by various engineers, in order to adapt it better to this purpose, when, in the year 1763, a small model of the engine so improved came into the hands of James Watt, a native of Greenock in Scotland (1736–1819), then a mathematical instrument-maker in Glasgow. Struck with the capabilities of the machine, and devoting the whole force of a singularly original and constructive mind, as well as an extensive and profound acquaintance with theoretical science, to the task of improving it, Watt succeeded in producing (1765) an entirely new steam-engine, which, by a series of subsequent inventions, each in itself important, he brought to the utmost possible perfection in every respect (1790). In association with Mr Boulton, he established works at Soho, near Birmingham, for the manufacture of his engines; and here, while growing rich on the proceeds of his numerous patents, he continued to make and publish new researches in various departments of science and art. Before his death, the world was filled with his fame and with the applications of his discoveries.

490. Like Newcomen's engine, Watt's first improvement on it had been intended simply to pump water from mines and collieries; but by his subsequent improvements,

it was converted into a power capable of being used for driving any kind of machinery. Accordingly, the history of mechanical invention during the last sixty or seventy years, has consisted in the main in successive applications of the steam-engine to all kinds of industrial processes. One of its first applications was to textile manufactures, in which, by a series of ingenious contrivances, the handloom has been all but entirely superseded by the power-loom, while the spinning apparatus of Hargreaves, Arkwright, and Crompton have also been modified so as to be driven by steam. Steam corn-mills, steam sawing-mills, steam printing-presses, steam hammers, steam crushing-machines, and a hundred other such machines, now familiar, are all so many applications of Watt's engine effected by the persevering ingenuity of different individuals in overcoming specific difficulties; even steam-guns have been proposed, and, more recently, there have been steam-ploughs and steam reaping-machines. In short, the applications of steam are endless: there is not a trade or process to which the steam-engine has not been applied, or may not be applied; and since its invention, the iron trade of Britain and other countries has been incalculably increased by the demand created for steam-engines and the machinery related to them. By far the most interesting application of steam-power, however, has been to the purposes of locomotion.

491. Ships had been greatly improved since the stimulus given to navigation by the maritime enterprise of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and a first-rate British man-of-war of Nelson's time was, in comparison with older ships, truly a wonder. Road-making had also improved; and whereas, in the sixteenth century, the universal mode of travelling any distance in France or Britain, or any other country, was by riding on horseback, leaving goods to be conveyed by slow wagons, in the following century carriages and coaches began to come into use. Carriages were first used in England by the sovereign and rich nobles about the year 1580, before which time, however, state-carriages had been used by princes in Italy, France, and the Netherlands. Hackney-coaches, or coaches let

for hire, were first seen in London in 1625, and stage-coaches on some of the main roads soon followed. The first stage-coach in Scotland, going the double journey between Edinburgh and Glasgow in a week, was in 1678; and the first mail-coach between Edinburgh and London, not till 1785. The conveyance of letters by post kept pace with this gradual increase of coach-traffic in Britain and other countries; and the subsequent invention of springs for carriages and coaches rendered coach-travelling more convenient. Meanwhile, canals for inland navigation had been constructed to a considerable extent. In flat countries, such as Holland, canals had for ages stood in the place of roads; while in Lombardy, where they were necessary for irrigation, the art of constructing them had reached high perfection as early as the thirteenth century; but the notion of locks, by which canals were made possible in uneven countries, does not seem to be older than the fifteenth century. About the middle of the eighteenth century, a great impulse was given to canal-navigation in England for the conveyance of coal and other goods by the enterprise of the Duke of Bridgewater; and many canals were constructed by able engineers, of whom the most celebrated for his genius in overcoming natural difficulties was James Brindley, a self-taught mechanic of Derbyshire (1716–1772). About the same time, short tram-roads—that is, roads rendered easier for the wagon by means of wooden or stone ruts on which the wheels could move—came into use in the vicinity of some of the collieries, to facilitate the conveyance of coal from the pit's mouth to neighbouring canals.

492. Altogether, what with shipping, coaches, turn-pike-roads, and canals, people fifty or sixty years ago fancied themselves very well provided with the means of locomotion. The invention of the steam-engine, however, produced a wonderful change. Inventive men, including Watt himself, speculated as to the possibility of applying steam to the purposes of locomotion both by land and by water. Between 1780 and 1800, various individuals, both in Scotland and America—of whom the most worthy of note were Miller, Symington, and Robert Fulton—

instituted experiments, with a view to the construction of steam-boats; and by 1800, the discovery was complete. It was not till 1807, however, that Fulton launched his first actual steam-boat in America; and it was later before steamers were in use in Great Britain. Till 1838, steamers were only used for rivers and coasting-voyages; but in that year the *Great Western* crossed the Atlantic. To the immense development of steam-navigation since, and to its effects on the whole system of traffic, it is unnecessary to allude. The application of steam-power to locomotion on land seemed for a time a more baffling problem than that of steam-navigation. The idea of making a carriage that could be driven by steam on common roads, or on rails, had indeed occupied many inventors since the invention of the steam-engine; an ingenious commercial traveller, named Thomas Gray, had published a book advocating the laying down of tram-roads or railways, instead of common roads, over the whole island; and one such railway, between Stockport and Darlington, had been constructed. Still, all attempts to construct a locomotive, as distinct from a stationary steam-engine, had been unsatisfactory; and it was doubtful whether horse-power would not have to be employed on railways, when the projectors of a new railway between Liverpool and Manchester offered a prize for a locomotive that would answer the purpose. In answer to this challenge, four locomotives were sent in, one of which, invented by Robert Stephenson, gained the prize (1829). The problem was solved; and since then, railways and steam-carriages have come into universal use over a great part of the globe, rendering it possible to travel at the rate of sixty or seventy miles an hour, or six times faster than could be done by coaches.

493. It would be an endless task to describe, or even to classify, all the mechanical inventions for facilitating human labour in the various departments of industry to which, more especially within the last seventy years, the different countries of Europe, as well as America, have given birth. Machines have even been constructed by which numerical calculations of the greatest length and

complexity, which would occupy hours if performed on the slate, can be performed instantaneously by means of wheels with perfect accuracy. The calculating-machine of Mr Babbage was the first completed invention of this kind; but another has been recently constructed by a German named Schütz. The improvements in chronometers and other scientific instruments have kept pace with those in manufacturing machinery and mill-work. The Great Exhibition of London in 1851, and other similar Exhibitions since, have afforded a better opportunity than previously existed for forming an idea of the vast multiplicity of inventions which have been applied to the arts, and for estimating the relative degrees in which different nations have contributed to the supply. On the whole, while other countries have contributed their shares, Great Britain has taken the lead in mechanical inventions as applied to arts and manufactures; and it is to this circumstance that Britain owes her present place as the first engineering and manufacturing country in the world. The metal manufactures of Birmingham, the cotton goods of Manchester, and other manufactures of Glasgow and other large towns, supply the markets of the world. One effect of this immense manufacturing industry of Britain has been to raise up in British society a new aristocracy, consisting of men who, having grown rich as mill-owners, iron-founders, and so on, are able to take rank, in point of influence, with the old hereditary aristocracy of land-owners, and to purchase estates and found families. The same cause has also had important international effects. The manufacturing population of Great Britain being so large, that the agricultural produce of the island itself is insufficient for their support, the country has come to depend on other parts of the earth for annual supplies of corn; and hence that dislike of commercial restrictions which characterises the manufacturing classes, and which led recently to the abolition of the corn-laws, and to the adoption of a policy of free commercial intercourse between Britain and other countries. An increased necessity for emigration, and an increased tendency to it, have followed from the same cause; so that the increase of the colonial

power of Britain is in part a result of the development of her manufactures.

494. II. *The Fine Arts.*—The fine arts, excluding poetry, which falls more properly under the head of literature, are music, painting, sculpture, and architecture, with such minor arts as are subservient to these. It cannot be said that the progress made in these arts since the Reformation has been equal to that made in the industrial arts. In all those arts, indeed, which appertain to the comfort of life, and to what may be called tasteful luxury—as, for example, in the furnishing and decoration of dwelling-houses—there has been an undoubted advance, so that the conditions of life to which our ancestors were accustomed would seem rude, and even miserable, to us. But in the cultivation of the fine arts in their highest sense—that is, in the earnest devotion of mind, money, and labour to the production of works appealing to the ideas of the sublime, the grand, and the beautiful, as distinct from the merely useful—it is questionable whether we have not become, in some respects, inferior to our ancestors. Such, at least, is the common opinion; the limitations to be placed upon which will be better seen if we glance at the history of each of the fine arts individually.

495. *Music.*—In music, at least, there seems to be no doubt that during the last three or four centuries immense progress has been made, so that there could be no comparison between the music of the ancients or even the music of the middle ages and that of modern times. This progress has depended on four causes, distinct in themselves, but acting conjointly—the continued study of musical science; the gradual improvement of old musical instruments and invention of new ones; the invention of new modes of musical entertainment, requiring new forms of musical composition to correspond; and the appearance in various European countries during the last three centuries of many eminent musical composers. In order fairly to represent the *progress of musical science*, we should have to enumerate all the great works and writers on the theory of music that have lived in different countries

during the last three centuries, and to sketch the history of counterpoint, &c. This is the less necessary here, because most of the great masters of musical science have been also great composers. Of the many *new musical instruments* which have been invented during the last three centuries, it is sufficient to mention the piano, which is not yet a century old, as an example; for it would be impossible to take account of all the gradual improvements which have provided us with the various wind and stringed instruments now in use. Under the head of *new forms of musical entertainment*, it is sufficient to mention the oratorio and the opera; but even common concerts, for hearing songs and simple pieces, are comparatively recent. Of the great *musical composers* who have lived during the last three centuries, the following are among the chief:—the Italians, Palestrina (1524–1594), Stradella (died 1670), Piccini (1728–1800), Cimarosa (1754–1801), Bellini (1806–1835), and Rossini; and the Germans, Handel (1684–1759), John Sebastian Bach (1685–1750), Gluck (1714–1787), Haydn (1732–1809), Mozart (1756–1792), Beethoven (1770–1827), Weber (1786–1826), Mendelssohn, and Meyerbeer. England has had one or two composers of genius, among whom Purcell (1658–1698) perhaps ranks highest; France, Spain, and the Slavonian countries, have likewise produced composers of eminence; but upon the whole, the Italians and the Germans take the lead in music.

496. *Painting.*—The great age of painting was the latter part of the fifteenth and the first part of the sixteenth century, when Perugino, Bellini, Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Raphael, Giorgione, and Titian were the lords of the art in Italy; and Quintin Matsys, Louis Kranach, and Albert Durer in Germany. Some of these painters outlived the Reformation—Michael Angelo lived till 1563, and Titian till 1576—and one of them, Louis Kranach, was a personal friend and adherent of Luther, whose portrait he painted; but, on the whole, both in respect of time and of their tone of thought, they belong to the last generation of the middle ages, and have, therefore, been noticed in the volume on MEDIÆVAL

HISTORY (§§ 367–369). Resuming the history of painting at the point marked by the lives of these men, we find that all the painters that have lived since distribute themselves into schools, as follows:—1. *The Italian School* (subdivided into the Florentine School, the Roman School, the Bolognese School, the Venetian School, &c.).—Andrea del Sarto (1488–1530); Giulio Romano, a pupil of Raphael (1491–1546); Antonio Allegri, surnamed Correggio (1494–1534); Sebastian del Piombo (1485–1547); Bassano (1510–1592); Jacopo Robusti, surnamed Tintoretto (1512–1594); Paolo Veronese (1528–1588); and T. Zucchero (1529–1566), were the most distinguished painters of Italy immediately after Michael Angelo, Raphael, and Titian; they were, so to speak, the junior contemporaries of these great masters, and shared their excellence, while exhibiting peculiarities of their own. In point of style, Tintoretto and Paolo Veronese were disciples of Titian; Correggio's style was very nearly new. Later in point of date, and, with all their merits of execution, exhibiting the gradual decline of Italian painting, were a number of other artists, of whom the chief were—the three Carraccis of Bologna, Ludovico (1555–1619), Annibale (1560–1609), and Agostino (1558–1601); Domenichino (1581–1641), Guido Reni (1574–1642), Caravaggio (1569–1609), Spagnoletto (1592–1656), Salvator Rosa (1615–1673), Carlo Dolci (1616–1686), and Giordano (1632–1705). Critics differ in their appreciation of these painters, among whom Caravaggio and Spagnoletto are distinguished by their determination to paint literally from nature; while Salvator Rosa, who was of Neapolitan birth, is the painter of rugged and savage mountain-scenes. The only Italian painters of the eighteenth century worthy of special note were Antonio Canale (1697–1768) and his nephew Canaletto (1724–1780), whose paintings of outdoor scenes have been much admired. During the present century, Italy has produced hardly any painters of wide reputation. 2. *The Flemish and Dutch Schools.*—With the exception of Hans Holbein, a native of Basel, who spent a great part of his life (1498–1554) in England, where he painted many portraits of eminent personages

about the court of Henry VIII., which still survive at Hampton Court and other places, and are of great historical value, the principal successors of Albert Durer and the other old German masters, were either natives of the Netherlands, or acquired and practised their art there. They divide themselves into the two related schools of the *Flemish* painters and the *Dutch* painters, according as they belonged to that part of the Netherlands which, after being subjected first to Spanish and afterwards to Austrian rule, has recently been constituted into the Kingdom of Belgium, or to that part which, after its revolt from Spanish rule, became the republic of Holland. The greatest of the Flemish painters was the celebrated Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), whose master-pieces are to be seen in Antwerp, where he lived; but many of whose works are dispersed through the galleries of other countries, where they excite admiration little less than that bestowed on the chief old Italian masters. Among his pupils were Jacob Jordaens (1594–1678) and Antony van Dyck (1599–1641), whose portraits of contemporary personages, including not a few Englishmen, are his best works; though, like his master, he practised other forms of art. Contemporaries of these men in Holland were Michael Mirevelt (1567–1641), Bartholomew van der Helst (1613–1670); and, far greater than either, Paul Rembrandt van Ryn (1606–1674)—the last of whom takes the first rank among the Dutch painters, and is remarkable among painters in general for his mastery of light and shade, as distinct from colour. Pupils of Rembrandt were Gertrand van den Eckhout (1621–1674) and Nicholas Maas (1632–1693). These painters painted general subjects, sometimes of a sublime or ideal character; but about the beginning of the eighteenth century there arose a school of Flemish and Dutch painters, who made it their business to paint scenes of common or low Flemish and Dutch life; such as boors smoking and drinking within doors or out of doors—a kind of art in which they shewed extraordinary fidelity to nature and much humour. The chief of this class of painters were David Teniers (1610–1690), Adrian van Ostade (1610–1685), Adrian

Brouwer (1608–1640), and Jan Steen (1636–1689). Painters of a similar kind, though the scenes they chose were scenes of more 'genteel' life, requiring greater delicacy of finish, were Gerard Terburg (1608–1681), Gerard Dow (1613–1680), and Franz Mieris (1635–1681). There were other contemporary and subsequent Dutch painters, however, who pursued other styles of art in preference to that of real Dutch life—among whom the most distinguished were Jacob Ruisdael (1635–1681), Mindert Hobbema (1629–1699), and Albert Everdingen, painters of woodland and forest scenery; and Nicolas Berghem (1624–1683) and Albert Cuyp (1606–1649), painters of quiet pastoral scenes. Philip Wouvermans (1620–1668) is famous as a painter of fairs, battle-scenes, &c., in which horses occur; Paul Potter (1625–1654), Franz Snyders (1579–1654), and John Weenix (1644–1719), were the most famous Dutch animal-painters; and Bonaventura Peters (1614–1652) and Ludolf Backhuysen (1631–1709) were distinguished painters of marine scenes and shipping. From this period, painting fell off in the Netherlands; nor during the eighteenth century were there many painters of excellence in all Germany, with the exception of Raphael Mengs (1728–1779) and Angelica Kauffmann. During the present century, however, German painting has received a new impulse; and in almost all the larger German states, but particularly in Prussia and Bavaria, there have been recently, and still are, painters of note.

3. *The Spanish School.*—Spain had a few painters in the fifteenth century; but it was not till the sixteenth, when, as part of the great empire of Charles V., Spain came into relations with Italy and the Netherlands, that there arose a school of Spanish art. Among the earlier Spanish painters were Antonio del Rincon (1446–1500), Morales (1519–1586), Luis de Vargas (1502–1568), Vicente Joanes (1523–1579), and Juan Fernandez Navarrete (1526–1579). Later and more celebrated, and all natives of Seville, were Juan de las Roelas (1558–1625), Herrera (1576–1656), Francisco Zurbaran (1598–1662), Diego Velasquez (1599–1660), and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1618–1682)—of whom the two last are the

pride of Spanish art, and comparable, in the eyes of critics, to the best painters of any country. Other Spanish painters were Alonzo Cano of Granada (1600–1667) and Francisco Ribalta of Valencia (1551–1628). The Spanish painters are characterised by a choice of devotional subjects and by an intensely Catholic spirit in treating them—qualities natural to the genius and traditions of Spain. Since the seventeenth century, art, like everything else in Spain, has decayed and died out; though the Spaniards are still proud of the works of their old painters which adorn their churches. 4. *The French School.*—There were some French attempts at painting during the reign of Francis I.; but the first French painters of note were Simon Vouet (1582–1641) and Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665), the latter of whom was an original and peculiar painter, whose influence has perpetuated itself in France to this day. To these painters succeeded Gaspar Poussin (1600–1663) and Claude Lorraine (1600–1682), both remarkable as landscape-painters. To the same century belong Eustache le Sueur (1617–1655), Charles le Brun (1619–1690); and to the following the still more distinguished names of Antoine Watteau (1684–1721), Joseph Vernet (1711–1789), and J. B. Greuze (1726–1805). Jacques Louis David (1748–1825), a painter of power, but spoiled by affectation, was a prominent man during the terrible time of the French Revolution; and France has had some very eminent painters of still more recent date—among whom the best known are Gerard, Gros, and Guerin; Horace Vernet, the famous living painter of battle-scenes; the sea-painters, Gudin and Isabey; and the historical painter, Paul de la Roche. 5. *The British School.*—The first British painter of whom there is any record was George Jameson (1586–1644), a native of Aberdeen, who, after studying under Rubens at Antwerp, where he had Vandyck for his fellow-pupil, returned to Scotland, and established himself as a portrait-painter. Not much later were three English portrait-painters of the times of the Commonwealth—Oliver (1601–1660), Dobson (1609–1672), and Cooper (1610–1647)—some of whose portraits of contemporaries remain and are much valued.

Next in order is Sir James Thornhill, a portrait-painter of the time of Queen Anne and George I. (1676–1734), Sir Peter Lely and Sir Godfrey Kneller—the two distinguished portrait-painters of the immediately preceding reigns of Charles II., James II., and William III., having both been of Dutch birth. Thornhill's son-in-law was the famous William Hogarth (1697–1764), a painter of thoroughly original, and yet eminently English genius, who in his own walk of moral and satirical humour has never been surpassed. A later contemporary of Hogarth was Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792), the friend of Johnson, Burke, and Goldsmith, a man of fine and delicate powers, and still the greatest portrait-painter that England has produced. To the same century belong the portrait and historical painters George Romney (1734–1802), Benjamin West—an American by birth—(1738–1820), James Barry (1741–1806), and John Opie (1761–1807); the animal-painter Morland (1764–1804), and Robert Wilson (1714–1782) and Thomas Gainsborough (1727–1788), the fathers of English landscape-painting. To the close of the last, and the earlier part of the present century, belong Northcote, Stothard, Fuseli (1741–1825), and Sir Thomas Lawrence, the fashionable portrait-painter (1769–1830). Only recently dead are Sir David Wilkie, inimitable as a painter of scenes of village-life (1785–1841); Etty and Collins, also distinguished in their respective styles; and Joseph Turner (1775–1851), a man of vast and peculiar genius, who has been pronounced by competent critics the greatest landscape-painter that the world has seen, and who was certainly one of the most remarkable men that Britain has produced. Still alive among us are—Eastlake, Leslie, Landseer, Maclise, and others; while new painters are rising up who promise to extend more and more the fame of the British school of art—particularly a cluster of young men distinguished as 'the Pre-Raphaelites,' on account of their resolute attention to that rule of literal fidelity to nature which they think the painters who preceded Raphael observed more conscientiously than those who came after him.

497. *Sculpture.*—Were we to enumerate all the men

who have practised sculpture with distinction since the Reformation, the list would be a very long one; but really great sculptors have not been numerous. In Italy, after Michael Angelo and his contemporaries, Baccio Bandinelli and Benvenuto Cellini (1500), as sculptors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, may be mentioned Della Porta, a Lombard; Stefano Maderno (1576–1636); Bernini, a Neapolitan (1598–1680), who lived through seven pontificates, and executed many costly works; Algardi, a Bolognese; and Mocchi, Rusconi, Torretti, and Foggini, imitators of Bernini. In the works of all of these sculptors, a want of earnestness and a meretricious taste are discernible, which counteract the effect of the talent shewn in them. Among the sculptors of other countries most eminent in the same centuries, or in the eighteenth, were Francisco di Quesnoy, a Fleming by birth, who lived chiefly in Italy; and the French sculptors, Pilon, Puget, Girardon, Le Moine, and Roubiliac (1725–1762), the last of whom lived chiefly in England, where he produced most of his works. Altogether, at the close of the last century, sculpture was in as low a condition as it was possible for an art to be. From this condition it was raised chiefly by the teaching and example of three men of true genius in the art, though of very different excellences: Antonio Canova, an Italian (1757–1822), to whom, it is said, 'Italy owes her emancipation from those false perceptions which had, from the influence of the Bernini school, so long diverted the current of pure taste;' John Flaxman, an Englishman (1755–1826), whose influence in restoring simplicity of manner and earnestness of invention in sculpture was perhaps greater within his circle than that of Canova, though his works were not on so great a scale; and Bertel Thorwaldsen, a Dane (1770–1844), who, residing chiefly at Rome, there executed many grand works, in which the romantic genius of the North was visible. These men may be said to have revived sculpture; for since their time there have been really eminent sculptors in Italy, Britain, Germany, France, Denmark, and America, some of whom are still alive, and engaged on important works. The English sculptor,

Chantrey, died in 1841; the German, Dannecker, in the same year.

498. *Architecture.*—The middle ages were emphatically the period of great architecture; and no buildings erected during the last three centuries can be compared, as works of art, with the Gothic cathedrals and churches of the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. Churches and other edifices continued, indeed, to be built in the sixteenth century after the Gothic model; and in England there sprang up, under the names of the Tudor and Elizabethan styles, a modification of the Gothic for the purposes of domestic architecture. On the whole, however, after the sixteenth century, the Gothic fell into disuse for great buildings, and there arose a taste rather for Greek architecture, as it had been modified by the Romans and Italians. Andrea Palladio, an Italian (1518–1580), is usually regarded as the greatest authority on the principles of this modern form of architecture. Most of the great edifices which have been raised in the cities of Europe during the last 200 years, whether for civil or for ecclesiastical purposes, have been in a kind of mixed or modernised Greek style, with external columns, pediments, porticos, &c., and sometimes with domes and towers. Perhaps the greatest triumph in this style of art is the church of St Peter's, at Rome, a magnificent edifice, begun in 1506, in the pontificate of Julius II., by an architect named Bramante, and which, after having taxed the powers of many other great artists and architects—including Raphael, Michael Angelo, Barozzi, Fontana, Della Porta, and Carlo Maderno—was finished in 1614. Inferior to St Peter's, but still a superb work, in what is called the Italo-Roman style, is St Paul's, London, begun about 1675, and finished in 1710, by Sir Christopher Wren (1632–1724). Every city, however, of any importance contains numerous works of more or less ability in various mixed styles by architects of local note. Recently, there has been a revived enthusiasm for the Gothic, and a disposition to return to it, at least in churches. One of the greatest advocates of this revival in our own country is Mr Ruskin, whose expositions in architecture, as well

as in painting and sculpture, are producing a visible effect on the public taste. Meanwhile, in our domestic architecture, we have sacrificed beauty to convenience. As compared with a street in an old town, such as Nürnberg or Bruges, picturesque with its high-pointed gables, a street in a modern town, with its houses all of one pattern, or nearly so, is common and uninteresting to the eye; and yet in the interior, the advantage in comfort, sanitary arrangement, and elegance, is infinitely on the side of the modern houses. So, also, though we have lost in artistic architecture, we have gained in what may be called mechanical architecture. If we do not design and build such grand cathedrals as our ancestors, we construct bridges, aqueducts, light-houses, tunnels, &c., which were beyond their powers. Recently, iron and glass have been used to a much greater extent than before as building materials; and the example of the Crystal Palace and of some of our great railway buildings suggests that much may be done to extend this style of building. Feats of engineering skill, however, are to be distinguished from architectural effects, properly so called, in which the primary faculty at work is that of the imagination.

499. SCIENCE SINCE THE REFORMATION.—The sciences, reckoned on the principle of calling every known department of human knowledge a distinct science, are very numerous; but they may be all grouped under the following heads:—Mathematics; Astronomy; General Physics; Chemistry; Biology, or the science of organised beings, whether plants or animals; and the moral and social sciences relating to man individually, and to the phenomena of society. The progress made in all these sciences since the Reformation has been prodigious; insomuch that the whole quantity of scientific *information* possessed by the human race then was perfectly insignificant in comparison with what is now accumulated in our encyclopædias. This immense accumulation of knowledge or information in recent times has been owing, in part, to the mere continued existence of the human race in a world affording such scope for their inquisitiveness; but, in part, it has been owing to what may be called a voluntary

change of system in the conduct of the human mind in relation to knowledge. Prior to the sixteenth century, it was chiefly with investigations into the nature of the human mind itself, into its origin, destiny, and mode of working, that philosophers concerned themselves; and hence, while some of those sciences which we have named in the foregoing list 'the moral and social sciences,' had been cultivated with astonishing ability—as, for example, metaphysics, logic, ethics, theology, and politics—the physical sciences, on the other hand, or those which relate to the actual forms and phenomena of nature, had been very much neglected. The notions which even the learned possessed as to the extent and arrangements of the universe, and as to the structure and laws of the earth, and what is on it, were few and empirical—were such, in fact, as could not but be acquired by the ordinary exercise of the senses, aided, in some cases, by a little perseverance and curiosity. Nay, more, it had become the custom of the schoolmen to apply their dialectical and metaphysical notions and forms to the explanation of natural phenomena, and to make these notions stand in the place of real knowledge; and this had given rise to infinite obscurity and confusion, and barren wrangling with words. Gradually, however, there had arisen a disposition to revolt from this 'Aristotelian' system of pursuing knowledge, as it was called (from an idea, only partially true, that the system rested on the authority of Aristotle, whom the schoolmen recognised as their master in philosophy), and to use greater freedom in the employment of the observing and reasoning powers apart from foregone metaphysical conclusions. About the time of the Reformation, in particular, there arose an outcry against Aristotle and the schoolmen, and a desire for something more solid and satisfactory in the way of knowledge than was then taught in colleges. This tendency shewed itself in Copernicus, and in other eminent men, leading them to reject old notions, and to think for themselves with as close a reference as possible to facts. It was not till towards the end of the sixteenth century that a man arose who deliberately advised the human race to abandon that

method of seeking knowledge which they had hitherto pursued, and to try another one. This was the great Englishman Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam and Viscount St Albans (1561–1626). Dissatisfied from his earliest youth with the knowledge taught in universities and with the mode of acquiring it, Bacon meditated with himself, and at last published (1605) a new 'method' or *organum*, by which, he predicted, knowledge would be acquired at a rate till then unimagined. The essence of this method, which was called the 'inductive method,' was that, instead of perplexing themselves with looking into their own minds and forming subtle notions there, and debating about them, men should look abroad upon nature, watch its facts and appearances, and endeavour, by patiently collecting these, and reasoning from them, to arrive at actual truth. Man's business, he said, was to understand the laws and constitution of the world in which he was placed, and to exercise his mind, not in barren studies, but in such as would yield positive fruits for the advantage of the arts and society; and the only way of doing this was to 'interrogate nature'—to sit at the feet of nature, so to speak, observing her processes as a pupil, instead of dictating to her as a master. First, in studying any matter, to collect facts, and to make experiments, and then, from these facts and experiments, to draw general conclusions; and never in any case to put the conclusions first, and make the facts bend to them—such was the great maxim of Bacon's inductive philosophy. Put forth by him in works of amazing depth of thought and eloquence, and accompanied by detailed criticisms on the state of the sciences individually, and remarks as to what was wanting in each, his philosophy produced immense effects all over Europe. The learned everywhere adopted it as little less than a revelation; and a French philosopher, René Descartes (1596–1650), having about the same time put forth speculations of an original character, which, though not actually the same, tended in the same direction, and stirred up independent thought, there took place a complete revolution in the whole system of scientific inquiry and research. One important effect of

evidence of this revolution was the institution, in almost every country of Europe, of academies or societies having the cultivation of the mathematical and physical sciences for their object. In Naples, a society exclusively for physical research had been instituted as early as 1560, under the name of the Academy of the Secrets of Nature; a similar academy was founded in Florence in 1657, called the Academy *del Cimento*, or the Academy of Experiment; the French Academy of Sciences was founded in 1663 by Colbert, minister of Louis XIV.; in Spain and Austria, similar academies were instituted in 1652 and 1653; the famous Royal Society of London, the original members of which were men thoroughly imbued with the Baconian philosophy, and resolved to apply it, was founded in 1662; and in 1701, Frederick I. of Prussia established a similar society at Berlin. The labours of these societies, and of hundreds of others which have sprung up since, have contributed incalculably to the progress of all branches of inductive or experimental science.

500. I. *Mathematics.*—Among the hundreds of mathematicians who have contributed to the advance of mathematical science since the Reformation, the following are perhaps the most eminent:—Jerome Cardan, an Italian of great but eccentric genius (1501–1576); Francis Vieta, a Frenchman (1540–1603); the Scotchman, Napier of Merchiston (1550–1617); the Englishman, Thomas Harriot (1560–1621); Kepler, the great German (1571–1630); the Dutchman, Snell (1591–1626); the French philosopher, Descartes, and his contemporary and fellow-countryman, Fermat (1595–1665); the illustrious Frenchman, Pascal (1623–1662); the Dutchman, Huyghens (1629–1695); the English divine, Barrow (1630–1677), and his more famous pupil, Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727); Newton's great contemporary, the German philosopher, Leibnitz (1646–1716); the German, James Bernouilli (1654–1705), and his brother, John Bernouilli (1667–1748); Halley (1656–1741), Maclaurin, Bradley (1692–1762), Thomas Simpson (died 1760), Maskelyne (died 1811), and Hutton (died 1822), all natives of Britain; the German, Euler (1707–1783);

the Italians, Boscovich (1711-1787) and Lagrange (1736–1813); and the illustrious Frenchmen, D'Alembert (1717–1784), Condorcet (1743–1794), Bailly (1736–1793), Montucla (1725–1799), Lalande (1732–1807), Demoivre, Delambre (died 1822), Lacroix, and Laplace (died 1827). There are many eminent living mathematicians in France, Germany, and England, in which last country Cambridge is the chief seat of mathematical studies. In a volume like this, it is of course impossible to give any idea of the nature of the successive discoveries and contributions in mathematical science made by the men whom we have mentioned, so as to estimate their respective degrees of influence in having brought the science to its present state. Suffice it to say that to Cardan, Vieta, and Descartes are owing many discoveries in algebra and the first perceptions of the range of the algebraic method; that Napier's fame rests on his splendid discovery of logarithms (1614); and that Newton and Leibnitz jointly claim the discovery of the method of fluxions, which has since led to the development by Lagrange and others of what is called the differential and integral calculus (1816). By these discoveries, and their consequences, mathematics have been developed into a science quite boundless, the aspect of which would completely surprise and perplex the most consummate of the ancient Greek geometers, or of the Arabic arithmeticians of the middle ages. By the application of the new mathematical methods of the last two centuries, problems are solved which before baffled the intellect of man, and a certainty has been given to scientific investigations in astronomy and physics, as well as to various transactions appertaining to commerce and social life, which could never have been anticipated. As an example of this last application of mathematics, we may refer to the whole modern practice of insurance, life-annuities, &c. There are traces of this important practice, the effects of which on modern society have been so vast and beneficial, as early as the fifteenth century, and even considerably earlier. There was a law relative to commercial insurance in Barcelona in 1435; insurance of goods against sea-risks was common in the Netherlands

and in Germany as early as 1535; regulations respecting similar insurance were passed in England in 1601; insurance of houses against fire, both by individuals and by companies, was known in Germany and in England in the beginning of last century; and the oldest life-insurance office in London dates from 1706. But though insurance was thus conducted on empirical principles, and with the lights of common sense and simple arithmetic, the practice is, in reality, an application of a high mathematical doctrine—the doctrine of chances, probabilities, or averages—and it is only since the development of this doctrine in the abstract by such mathematicians of the last and present century as Daniel Bernouilli (the son of John Bernouilli), Demoivre, Condorcet, Laplace, Lacroix, &c., that the operations of insurance have received their scientific perfection. The same doctrine is susceptible of infinite additional applications to all kinds of statistics; and thus the influence of mathematics may be made to penetrate to an extent yet unknown into the arrangements of human life, adding certainty to man's knowledge, and even increasing his comfort.

501. II. *Astronomy.*—There are two kinds of astronomy—Descriptive Astronomy, which simply observes and registers the phenomena of the heavens; and Mathematical and Theoretical Astronomy, which, applying mathematics and theory to the data furnished by descriptive astronomy, establishes the laws which regulate the heavenly bodies in their motions, calculates the times of these motions, &c. Both kinds of astronomy have advanced simultaneously with rapid strides since the time when Copernicus (1473–1543) founded modern astronomy by propounding his new theory of the heavens (MEDIEVAL HISTORY, § 376); and in the main, they have advanced under the auspices of the same men; still it may be well to consider them separately. 1. The first great labourer in *descriptive astronomy*, after Copernicus, was the Dane, Tycho Brahé (1546–1601). From his observatory near Copenhagen, and with the aid of improved instruments, this illustrious man scanned the heavens night after night in search of new facts which had escaped previous observers; and the result was, a greatly

extended catalogue of fixed stars, and a far more correct knowledge of certain particulars respecting the moon, comets, &c., than had previously been possessed. Not long after the death of Tycho Brahé, an immense additional aid to descriptive astronomy was gained by the invention of the telescope. The first invention of this instrument is due to a Dutch mechanician, Jansen; but it was in the hands of the famous Italian, Galileo (1564–1642), who, having heard of Jansen's instrument, made one of his own, that the telescope was first turned to account for astronomical purposes (1609). As soon as it was turned to the heavens, a number of new facts were discovered, which Galileo announced to the world—the fact that the planet Jupiter had satellites; the fact that there were inequalities on the moon's surface; the fact that the planet Venus had phases like the moon; the existence of nebulæ, &c. About the same time, the English mathematician and astronomer, Harriot, discovered the spots on the sun, by means of a telescope imported from Holland. The telescope having been gradually improved, and other instruments added to it for giving accuracy to its observations, the transit of Mercury over the sun's disc was noted by the Italian, Gassendi, and the diameter of that planet measured (1631); and the same was done with the planet Venus, by the two English astronomers, Horrox and Crabtree (1639). In 1646, the Italian, Fontana, discovered Jupiter's belts; and in 1654, the Dutchman, Huyghens, first clearly made out Saturn's ring, following the discovery up by the discovery of one of that planet's satellites. The invention, in 1663, of the reflecting telescope by the Scotchman, James Gregory (1638–1675), increased the accuracy and distinctness with which the celestial phenomena could be observed; and Newton, who was a friend of Gregory, made a similar instrument, and began to use it in 1669. A series of important discoveries were made by John Dominic Cassini, an Italian astronomer (1625–1712). He identified at different times no fewer than four satellites of Saturn, making the known satellites of that luminary up to five; he made valuable observations respecting the satellites of Jupiter; and he determined the time of

rotation of Mars, Jupiter, and Venus. Flamsteed, Römer, James Cassini—the son of Dominic—Halley, and Bradley were among the other eminent observers at the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. James Cassini discovered the divisions of Saturn's ring; Halley, in 1705, identified the comet which goes by his name; and Flamsteed (1646–1719) not only made observations of his own, but compiled an immense mass of observations by others, so as to leave behind him, in his *Historia Cœlestis*, a complete survey of the descriptive astronomy of his day, including the best catalogue made up to that time of the fixed stars. The establishment of the observatory of Greenwich (1675)—Flamsteed being the first astronomer-royal—and of other similar institutions in other countries, and the gradual invention of new and improved instruments for use in observatories—such as Hadley's quadrant (1731), Dollond's micrometer (1753), the same optician's achromatic lenses (1758), and Harrison's chronometer (1765)—contributed greatly to the extension of astronomical knowledge. Euler, D'Alembert, Lacaille, Lalande, Bailly, and Maskelyne, were among the most distinguished observers of the middle and latter part of the eighteenth century; and Lacaille and Maskelyne both travelled into the southern hemisphere to make observations of astronomical phenomena in those latitudes. But the observer whose perseverance and whose discoveries cast all others into the shade was the celebrated William, afterwards Sir William, Herschel. Born at Hanover in 1738, Herschel was for some time a musical performer in his native country; he came to England in 1759, and settled at Bath as an organist in a chapel, and it was here that he began to turn his attention to astronomy. Being too poor to purchase instruments, he constructed a telescope for himself, and it was with this instrument that he discovered the new planet Herschel or Uranus (1781), and two of its satellites (1787). These discoveries having made him famous, he was enabled, by the liberality of George III., to construct a vast reflecting telescope, forty feet long, by which the heavens could be penetrated to a depth never before attained. By this instrument, myriads

of new stars became visible, the milky-way itself being resolved into stars; four new satellites of Uranus were discovered (1789–1794); the list of nebulæ was increased, and the nebulæ themselves in some cases resolved; and the remarkable phenomenon of double stars was brought into notice. To enumerate all the additions to astronomical knowledge made by Herschel during his indefatigable life of observation, which closed in 1822, would be impossible; no single man has done so much to extend our acquaintance with the heavens. He had contemporaries, however, whose labours of observation were also valuable; among whom may be mentioned Humboldt, Wollaston, Harding, Piazzi, Olbers, Bessel, Brinkley, Encke, and Biela. In 1801, Piazzi discovered the small planet Ceres, whose companions, Pallas, Juno, and Vesta, were discovered—the first by Olbers, in 1802; the second by Harding, in 1804; and the last by Olbers, in 1807. Encke's comet and Biela's were identified in 1818 and 1826 respectively. Among the chief observers since Sir William Herschel's death, have been his son Sir John Herschel, and Professor Airy, the present astronomer-royal—the observations of the former of which at the Cape of Good Hope have greatly extended our knowledge of the southern heavens; while the systematic observations at Greenwich, under the superintendence of the latter, have been equally valuable. By the construction of telescopes of great magnitude, the largest of which is that recently constructed by Lord Rosse, not only have such phenomena as double stars and nebulæ been subjected to a closer scrutiny, but new luminaries of importance have been added to our list—including the planet Neptune, whose existence beyond Uranus had previously been detected mathematically by the French astronomer, Leverrier, and the English astronomer, Adams, as well as a considerable number of smaller planets of the same order as Pallas, Ceres, &c. Altogether, the effect of the astronomical discoveries of the last 300 years has been such that the universe in which our earth seems as a central ball, and on which human history is transacted, is a totally different thing in the imagination of mankind from what it was before.

That moon which, though it is the nearest of the heavenly bodies, our ancestors could see but as a luminous disc, clouded in some parts, is now known to us almost as thoroughly as if we were on it; while we now know that not only does this moon move round the earth, and the earth, and all the planets, and all their moons round the sun, but that the sun itself, with all these its attendants, forms also but one group or system, moving, ever moving, on a higher voyage, in prearranged harmony with countless myriads of other systems, which fill to depths unfathomable, and again to depths beyond these, the azure vaults of immensity. 2. Quite as wonderful as the progress of descriptive astronomy during the last three centuries has been the progress of *theoretical astronomy*. For some time, there was considerable opposition to the Copernican theory of the heavens; even Tycho Brahé refusing to admit it, and proposing a system of his own, which obviated, as he thought, the necessity of resorting to that of Copernicus. According to this theory, the sun moved round the earth, carrying all the planets with him revolving round him—a notion which, though it seems preposterous to us, was in reality quite consistent with all that was then known of the celestial facts. The controversy respecting the Copernican theory, as opposed to the Ptolemaic and the Tychonic theories, lasted for nearly a century, the church of Rome proscribing the theory as irreligious, and obliging Galileo, its chief advocate, to recant it, under pain of being treated as a heretic (1633). Meanwhile, step by step, discoveries were being made which, while they confirmed the Copernican theory, corrected it in many points, and established a truer system of the planetary motions in general than Copernicus had attained. The author of the most splendid of these discoveries was the German, Kepler (1571–1630). This illustrious man, after having distinguished himself by various astronomical researches, and by speculations shewing an extraordinary combination of mathematical skill with poetic fancy, had, in 1609, published a work entitled *A New Astronomy;* in which, by means of investigations directed to the planet

Mars, he established two laws, since known as Kepler's first and second laws—the first being, that the orbits of Mars and the other planets were not circular, as had been till then supposed both by the Ptolemaists and the Copernicans, but elliptical; and the second being, that each of these bodies, moving in these elliptical orbits, described equal areas of their ellipses in equal times. To these two laws a third of equal importance was added by Kepler in 1618, to the effect, that the squares of the times of revolution of the planets are in proportion to the cubes of their distances from the sun. These magnificent discoveries, accompanying as they did the first telescopic discoveries of Galileo and others, gave an entirely new aspect to theoretical astronomy. Still, much was required to give them completeness. It was now known that all the planets moved in ellipses, that they moved at regularly varying rates at different parts of their orbits, and that they were dispersed through space according to a certain relation to each other; but the great general law or principle which accounted for all these facts together was still unknown. Accordingly, at this point, astronomy entered on a new era of its history; and a controversy arose which superseded that between the Ptolemaists and the Copernicans. The originator of this controversy was Descartes. Convinced as all the best minds of Europe by this time were of the truth of the Copernican doctrine respecting the solar system, and thoroughly comprehending Kepler's mathematical discoveries respecting the planetary distances, velocities, and orbits, Descartes began to speculate as to the nature of that all-controlling mechanical force which produced such peculiar planetary motions. He propounded (1633) a hypothesis on the subject, called 'the theory of vortices'—the theory, that is, of a universal whirling fluid or ether, filling space, and broken into eddies. This hypothesis, which he supported by ingenious and profound mathematical reasonings, found great favour with his admirers, and was eagerly adopted on the continent. Gradually, however, a rival notion was gaining ground—the notion of some law of

attraction, drawing the heavenly bodies together, just as stones are drawn to the earth, and which, being opposed by the centrifugal force of the bodies as they wheeled in their orbits, kept the whole system in equilibrium. Galileo had investigated the action of this law as regards falling bodies on the earth; and some had fancied that it might be extended to the heavens. Kepler had discussed this notion of celestial attraction or gravitation, and argued against it. Subsequently, however, it was taken up, in opposition to the hypothesis of Descartes, by various able men, among whom were Hooke, Huyghens, Borelli, Bouilland, and Sir Isaac Newton. It was about the year 1666 that Newton, then in his twenty-fourth year, first turned his attention to the subject. He tried to deduce the actual planetary motions from the hypothesis of a law of universal attraction or gravitation, and for this purpose taxed all the resources of his prodigious mathematical genius. At that time, however, the magnitude of the earth, which was one of the data in Newton's calculation, was incorrectly estimated; and, as this vitiated the calculation, he threw it aside. A new measurement of an arc of the earth, however, having been made in 1671 by Picard, Newton resumed his researches, and the result was the demonstration of the entire sufficiency of the law of gravitation to account for the mechanical phenomena of the universe. This grand discovery—the greatest of its kind made by the intellect of man—was complete in 1682; but it was not till after nearly fifty years of conflict between the Newtonian system on the one hand and the Cartesian on the other, that the former prevailed. In France, in particular, the Cartesian system was maintained till 1732, when Maupertuis succeeded in establishing the Newtonian. Since that time, some of the greatest theoretical astronomers have been Frenchmen. As fresh discoveries have been made in descriptive astronomy, the powers of the highest and most exquisite modern mathematics have been strained to make the theory keep pace with them; and thus many beautiful discoveries have been made supplementary to that of

Newton. The *Mécanique Céleste* of Laplace (published from 1798 to 1825) is a wonderful monument of mathematical power applied to astronomy; but since Laplace's death in 1827, there have been additions to the science as he left it.

502. III. *General Physics.*—Under this name are included a great many sciences, which, along with astronomy, are often also included in the term natural philosophy. 1. First among these sciences is *mechanics*, which takes cognizance of the actions of solid bodies upon each other by impact, pressure, friction, &c., and so furnishes the theoretical principles for all kinds of solid machinery. The facts of this science are ascertained by observation and experiment, but these facts may be made the subject of elaborate mathematical treatment; and hence the furtherance of mechanical science has been the work both of experimental research and of mathematical investigation. Among the men who, in both these ways, have contributed to the progress of the science during the last three centuries and a half, are most of those already mentioned in connection with mathematics and astronomy, particularly Cardan, Galileo, Descartes, Pascal, Wallis, Sir Christopher Wren, Hooke, Huyghens, Newton, Leibnitz, the three Bernouillis, Euler, D'Alembert, Lagrange, and Laplace. Newton's great work, the *Principia*—that is, Mathematical Principles of Mechanical Philosophy—published in 1687; Lagrange's *Mécanique Analytique*, published in 1788; and Laplace's *Mécanique Céleste*, completed in 1825, are the most profound and comprehensive expositions of the doctrines of mechanics, terrestrial as well as celestial; but the science is still receiving accessions. 2. Included in mechanics by some, but by others separated from it, is *hydrodynamics*, or the science of the mechanical actions of liquids, whether at rest or in motion, of which hydraulics, or the art of constructing water-courses, dams, and all kinds of machinery driven by water, is the practical counterpart. All the above-mentioned natural philosophers contributed to this science as well as to the mechanics of solids; more particularly Newton, who treats the motions of fluids at some length in his *Principia*,

Daniel Bernouilli, D'Alembert, Euler, Lagrange, and Laplace. In addition to these names, however, may be mentioned, as specially distinguished in this branch of physics, the Italian, Torricelli (1608–1647). This eminent man, who was a pupil of Galileo, applied himself with success to various branches of mechanics, but his chief discovery was that of the law which determines the rise of water in pumps, and of other fluids in similar circumstances. Till the time of Galileo, the doctrine by which the rise of water in pumps had been explained was a fantastic one, expressed in the phrase, 'nature abhors a vacuum;' and though Galileo disproved this notion by shewing that water would not rise in a pump higher than about thirty-three feet, he was unable himself to give a satisfactory account either of the fact that water did rise so far after a piston; or of the fact that it would rise no further. Torricelli solved the problem by shewing that the cause of the rise of the water was the pressure of the external atmosphere, which pressure could make it rise only till the column of water in the pump was high enough to balance a similar column of the whole external atmosphere; and being led, in solving the problem, to make experiments on the rise of mercury in tubes, he became the inventor of the barometer (1643). *Pascal* completed the investigation which Torricelli had begun, and shewed that the column of mercury in the barometer diminished as it was carried up a mountain (1648). Hence the application of the barometer to the measurement of heights, as well as to the prediction of weather-changes. 3. Distinct from hydrodynamics, though, like it, comprehensible under mechanics in general, is *pneumatics* or *aero-dynamics*, the science of the mechanical actions—pressures, motions, expansions, &c.—of gaseous fluids, such as the air. Here also, though the data are furnished by experiment, they are susceptible of mathematical elucidation; and, consequently, pneumatical problems occupied Newton and others of the philosophers named in connection with mechanics and hydrodynamics. Roger Cotes and Dr Robert Smith, both of whom were contemporaries and friends of Newton, were distinguished in this department

of mechanical philosophy. The discovery of the barometer by Torricelli may be considered as belonging either to pneumatics or to hydrodynamics; and the thermometer was a prior invention growing out of pneumatical researches. The precise date of the invention of the thermometer is unknown; but spirit-thermometers were used by the Academy del Cimento about the year 1660; oil-thermometers were constructed by Newton about the year 1680; and Fahrenheit, a Dutch mechanician, invented the mercurial thermometer which goes by his name, in 1720. Sir John Leslie invented or revived the differential thermometer in 1804. Among numerous other pneumatical inventions may be mentioned—the air-pump, invented by Guericke, a German, in 1654; the air-gun, invented somewhat earlier by a Frenchman named Marin; the diving-bell, known in the middle ages, and common in the sixteenth century; and the air-balloon, first constructed by Montgolfier, a paper-maker of Lyon, in 1783. A considerable portion of the investigations of pneumatics have related to what is called meteorology, or the science of weather-changes, including the laws of winds, storms, &c.—a science empirically pursued at all times, but to which the researches of such men as Hutton, De Luc, Gay Lussac, Biot, Dulong, Pettit, Humboldt, and others, have imparted something like theoretical accuracy. The invention of the steam-engine led to inquiries of much practical value by Hutton, Watt, and many chemists, into the relative elasticities of different gases; and the whole science of gunnery is an application of principles in part pneumatical. 4. Besides solids, liquids, and gases, there are in nature certain forces or substances of a totally different character, the investigation of the laws of whose actions belongs to the business of the natural philosopher. Thus, the phenomena of *sound* form the subject of a distinct science called *acoustics*, capable both of experimental and of subtle mathematical treatment, and furnishing the theoretical laws of music. Among those who have helped to bring this science to its present perfection may be mentioned Newton, Wren, Dr Robert Smith, Professor Robison of Edinburgh, Laplace, Dr

Thomas Young (1773–1829), and, more recently, Sir John Herschel. Among the practical applications of the science, besides many improved musical instruments, may be mentioned the speaking-trumpet, the invention of which, about 1671, belongs either to the Englishman, Sir Samuel Morland, or to the German Jesuit, Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680), a man of great research, in whose works many curious things are found. 5. The phenomena of *heat*, such as radiation, conduction, expansion, &c., are the subject of a branch of mechanical as well as of chemical science; and a long list of scientific men might be given whose experimental and mathematical investigations of these phenomena have constituted at least part of their title to fame, and have been attended with important practical results. Of these, perhaps the chief is the Frenchman, Joseph Fourier (1768–1830), whose mathematical investigations of the laws of the propagation of heat through solids are among the triumphs of recent science; but he had distinguished predecessors in Newton, Robison, and Sir John Leslie (1766–1832), and others; and since his time, the same branch of science has been cultivated with success by Poisson (1781–1840), Dulong and Pettit, Trevelyan, Forbes, &c. 6. The mechanical phenomena of *light*, such as propagation, reflection, refraction, polarisation, &c., are the subjects of the important science of *optics*. Newton wrote a treatise on this science, in connection with which he propounded his theory of colours; but there have been very subtle researches in it since Newton's time by Wollaston, Biot, Young, Fresnel, Arago, Sir David Brewster, Professor Forbes, Sir John Herschel, Professor Airy, Professor Wheatstone, and others; while a counter-theory of colours to that of Newton has been put forth by no less a man than the German poet Goethe. Among the practical applications of optical science, besides spectacles and lenses of various kinds, the telescope, ordinary mirrors, and such like, are the microscope, the camera-obscura, the kaleidoscope, invented by Sir David Brewster; the stereoscope, recently invented by Professor Wheatstone; and many other ingenious and useful contrivances. The phenomenon

of refraction was first investigated by Snell in 1619. The velocity of light was first ascertained by the astronomer, Römer, by means of observations on the satellites of Jupiter in 1675; the important fact of the aberration of light was discovered by Bradley in 1727; the phenomenon of polarisation attracted the notice of Huyghens, but was not fully investigated till the present century. 7. By far the most important additions to physical science, however, which have been made since the time of Newton, relate to a class, or rather classes of phenomena, the existence of which was barely known in his days, and the recognition of which since has enabled us to penetrate far more deeply into the constitution of nature. The attractive power of the loadstone for iron was known as an isolated fact to the ancients; the power of communicating this force to iron or steel by friction, with the more important fact of the polarity of such artificial magnets, was ascertained during the middle ages; and the mariner's compass, a very early Chinese invention, was introduced into Europe, and used for navigation, in the thirteenth century. The dip of the magnetic needle was discovered by Robert Norman, an Englishman, in 1576; and this and many other facts respecting the magnet were discussed by Dr Gilbert, physician to Queen Elizabeth, in a work on the magnet in 1600. The infant science of *magnetism*, thus established, occupied the attention of Newton, Halley, and their contemporaries; but it was reserved for subsequent inquirers, such as Brooke Taylor, Coulomb, Biot, and Hansteen, to ascertain the primary laws of magnetic action, and also to elucidate the great subject of terrestrial magnetism, or the magnetic constitution of the earth as a whole. Meanwhile, another kindred science was creeping into existence under the name of *electricity*. Like magnetism, this science arose out of experiments on an isolated fact known to the ancients—the fact that amber, wax, glass, &c., when rubbed, acquired a power of attracting light substances. Newton speculated on this power as on all other natural forces known to him; but it was not till after his time that the additional phenomenon of the electrical spark and its effects on the nerves of animals

was discovered, and the electrical machine, the Leyden jar, and other pieces of apparatus invented for collecting electricity so as to study it more closely. A study so interesting spread rapidly, and among others who turned their attention to it was the famous American, Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790). Franklin discovered the power of sharp points to attract electricity; he propounded the theory of positive and negative electricities, since generally adopted (1747); and in 1752 he made his striking experiment of kite-flying in a thunder-storm, by which he proved the identity of the electric spark and lightning—an experiment which suggested the use of thunder-rods for the protection of buildings. These experimental researches of Franklin on the new science were continued by others, who brought the aid of mathematics to the task. The world was all alert on the subject of electricity, when suddenly a new wonder was heard of. This was *galvanism* or *voltaism*, sometimes also called galvanic or voltaic electricity. Galvani, an Italian physician (1737–1798), having accidentally discovered the fact that a scalpel, when placed in contact with a dead frog, caused spasms in its limbs, was led to a series of experiments on this curious fact, the results of which, with his conclusions from them, he published in 1791. These conclusions, however, were false, and it was reserved for his contemporary and fellow-countryman, Volta (1745–1826), already known for his researches in electricity, to furnish the true explanation of the facts, and to construct (1800) the voltaic pile or battery, now so well known. Thus, a new science, known as voltaism, came into being; and the three sciences of magnetism, electricity, and voltaism presented so many analogies, that they have since been prosecuted together, as branches of one general science of electro-dynamics. Thermo-electricity and electro-magnetism are special sciences under this general head. Among the chief cultivators of all these related sciences, during the present century, have been Biot, the Dane Oersted, and Arago, as well as all the eminent chemists from the point of view of their science; and thus, though the science is still only in course of formation, a vast body

of important facts and doctrines in it have been already accumulated, while its applications to the arts are continually increasing. One of these applications—the electric-telegraph—is the most splendid practical invention of our age. The idea of such an instrument had existed for a considerable time before the practical difficulties were overcome by Professor Wheatstone and Mr Cooke in this country (1839), and by Mr Morse in America. Electric-clocks are the invention of Mr Bain of Edinburgh.

503. IV. *Chemistry.*—This grand science is altogether a modern creation. At the beginning, and even at the close of the sixteenth century, the whole knowledge of the human race, of the kind that would now be called chemical, consisted of an acquaintance with seven or eight of the more common metals; a considerable number of stones; one or two of the earths, such as lime and clay; a few inflammable substances, such as sulphur, some oils, and alcohol or spirit of wine (first recognised in the middle ages); some of the natural or easily made salts and alkalis, such as common salt, soda, &c.; and one or two acids, such as acetic acid, sulphuric acid, and nitric acid. The identification of these substances was chiefly the work of the alchemists of the latter part of the middle ages, who also handed down some processes with which they had become familiar, such as fusion, evaporation, decoction, calcination, distillation, crystallisation, fermentation, &c., together with a body of crude notions acquired during their experiments.

504. Out of this scanty beginning has modern chemistry been developed. Among the chemical inquirers of the sixteenth century who did something to introduce new facts into the science, were the Germans, Agrippa (1486–1539), Paracelsus (1493–1541), and Glauber, the discoverer of the salt which bears his name (died 1668). It was not till towards the end of the seventeenth century, however, that, under the impulse communicated by the Baconian method, and the various societies founded for the purposes of experimental research, the science began to be systematically cultivated. Newton himself was interested in chemical experiments, as also were Hooke and other

members of the Royal Society; but the man who in Britain did most in this branch of inquiry, as distinct from physics in general, was the celebrated Irishman, Robert Boyle (1627–1691). Contemporary with Boyle were Mayow in England, and Beecher in Germany. They prepared the way for the illustrious German chemist, George Stahl (born 1660), who not only added many new facts and processes to the science, but left behind him a peculiar theory of combustion, called the Stahlian or phlogistic theory, which long kept its ground. After Stahl, passing over the Germans, Caspar Neumann, Pott, Margraaf, and Kunckel, the Frenchmen, Lemery, Duhamel, Macquer, and Geoffroy, and the Englishman, Hales, we come to three great contemporary British chemists—the Scotchman, Dr Joseph Black (1728–1799), and the Englishmen, Henry Cavendish (1731–1810) and Dr Joseph Priestley (1733–1804). Black's chief contributions to chemistry were his discovery of carbonic acid gas as distinct from common air, and his beautiful doctrine of latent heat, with the facts on which it rested; Cavendish is immortal as the discoverer of hydrogen gas (1765) and nitrogen, and of the composition of water; and Priestley as the discoverer of oxygen (1774) and various other gases and substances, and as the author of many ingenious chemical speculations. After these eminent men may be mentioned four great foreign chemists—Bergman, a German (1735–1784), who speculated on the theory of chemical affinity or combination; the Swede, Scheele (1742–1786), among whose discoveries was that of chlorine gas (1774) and that of prussic acid; and the illustrious Frenchman, Lavoisier (born 1743, guillotined 1794), who, though his discoveries were few, greatly advanced the science by improving its nomenclature and logical methods, and by applying the tests of weight and measure more strictly than before to chemical operations. The Frenchmen, Berthollet (1748–1822), Morveau (1737–1816), and Fourcroy (1755–1809), added many new facts and speculations to the science; and the German, Klaproth (1743–1817), greatly improved the art of chemical analysis, which he applied more especially to minerals. He was

the discoverer (1789) of uranium and tellurium among the minor metals. Vauquelin, a French chemist of celebrity (died 1829), discovered chromium in 1797; Smithson Tennant, an English chemist, discovered osmium and iridium (1803); and Gregor, another English chemist, discovered titanium (1791). Dr Wollaston, an Englishman (1767–1828), was one of the greatest chemists as well as mechanical philosophers of his day; he discovered the metals rhodium and palladium (1803), and was the inventor of various ingenious instruments and various applications of chemistry to the arts, as well as the author of some interesting speculative researches. His fame, however, was surpassed by that of Sir Humphry Davy (1778–1829), one of the first men of science that Britain has produced. His discoveries of boron, calcium, strontium, barium, sodium, and potassium (all in 1807), were among the least of his contributions to chemistry. The new views which accompanied the announcement of these and other discoveries betokened genius of a high order, and gave a stimulus to chemical science all over the world; the use he made of the voltaic-battery for the purposes of analysis revealed a new power in chemical research; while his practical inventions, of which Davy's safety-lamp for miners was one, were alone sufficient to make one man's reputation. Many of Davy's hints and generalisations have since his time led to important results. Contemporary with Davy, England possessed another chemist, in some respects even greater, in John Dalton (1766–1844). This extraordinary man, who led a simple, unobtrusive life in Manchester, where he laboured daily in a poorly furnished laboratory, was the author of the greatest discovery in chemistry—the atomic theory, or theory of the exact laws according to which the few simple elementary substances, by whose combinations all nature is formed, unite with each other in order to form these combinations. His speculations in this subject began in 1803, and were published in a complete form in 1810. The sensation which they produced was profound; and since that period chemistry has reposed on a firm mathematical basis. Berzelius, a great Swedish

chemist, did much to confirm and extend Dalton's discoveries, and was also the author of various independent discoveries, such as that of selenium in 1818. To trace the history of the science in more recent times, and to shew the successive new developments both of fact and doctrine which have been given to the science by the researches of hundreds of men who in different parts of Europe have been pursuing it—among whom Liebig and Mitscherlich in Germany, Dumas in France, and Faraday and Graham in Britain, may be mentioned as the chief—is quite impossible here. Suffice it to say that, since the revolution caused in chemistry by Dalton's discovery, the greatest triumphs of the science have been in the investigation of phenomena connected with the more recondite parts of the atomic theory, such as those of isomerism, in researches into the chemical relations of electricity, light, magnetism, &c., and in the prosecution of what is called organic chemistry, or chemistry in relation to the vegetable and animal life. Faraday is peculiarly distinguished for his electro-chemical researches; Liebig for his researches in organic chemistry, more particularly as applied to agriculture.

505. That special branch of inorganic chemistry known as mineralogy has also been cultivated recently on new methods. From the middle of last century till 1815, mineralogy was pursued as a science by itself, sometimes by chemists, but sometimes by men who were not chemists —minerals being classified and arranged on empirical principles, according to their external characters and uses. The chemical analysis of minerals, however, by Klaproth and others, had been found to be a great additional means of mineralogical discrimination; and in 1815, Berzelius proposed a new and entirely chemical system of classifying minerals, which has since gained ground. Among eminent mineralogists before and after Berzelius, may be mentioned the Swede, Wallerius; the Germans, Brunner, Cronstedt, Werner (1750-1817), Karsten, and Mohs; the Frenchman, Haüy (1743-1822); and in our own country, Cleveland, Phillips, and Jameson.

506. The applications of chemistry to the arts are to

be counted by thousands, and are every day increasing beyond the power of cataloguing them. One or two of the most important may here be selected as examples. The application of chlorine to bleaching, suggested by Berthollet in 1785, has been an invention of immense economical value; and many other substances discovered by chemistry have been similarly applied in dyeing, calico-printing, pottery, and glass-making. The lighting of streets and houses by gas was an obvious chemical idea, as soon as Cavendish and others had discovered the inflammable gases; but it was first carried into effect by a practical engineer, named Murdoch, in 1792. The progress of the invention was slow: it was used at the Soho ironworks of Watt and Boulton in 1802; but it was not till ten or fifteen years later that it began to be applied on a great scale in towns. Photography, electro-typing, calotyping, &c., are all practical applications of chemical science, which have grown out of experiments begun by M. Daguerre in 1839, when the daguerreotype process was invented. The recent speculations of Liebig and others in organic chemistry have yielded conclusions of a most valuable kind in agriculture and also in medicine; and those of Faraday and others in electro-chemistry contain the germs of many future improvements. Under the name of practical or manufacturing chemists, there are many men who make it their business to apply the doctrines and facts of the science, as they are evolved by the higher or theoretical chemists, to economic and industrial purposes; and fortunes are frequently made in this way.

507. V. *Biology.*—This science, from its very nature, has been of more recent development than chemistry; nor, though it has employed the labours of many able and extraordinary men, has it yet attained to the same degree of advancement. Under the names of botany, zoology, and anatomy, it is true, there have existed for a long time certain descriptive sciences properly appertaining to biology, and preparing the way for it, by the observation and classification of particular orders of facts. 1. *Botany.*—The entire number of plants of which the ancients

bequeathed a list to the moderns did not exceed 700 at the utmost; and, even with the additions made during the middle ages, when the search for simples constituted so much of the art of medicine, the total number of known plants in 1546, as enumerated by Lonicer, an author of that day, was 879. In the sixteenth century, botany was pursued with considerable ardour by not a few men, of whom Conrad Gesner, a Swiss of Zurich; Matthew Lobel, a Dutch physician, resident in England; and the Frenchmen, Dalechamp and Gaspard Bauhin, were the chief. The result of their labours was, that by the year 1596 as many as 6000 plants were known to botanists. The Italians, Cæsalpinus and Malpighi, the Englishmen, Henshaw and Grew, and the Frenchman, Tournefort, were distinguished botanists of the seventeenth century; and the result of their labours was, that in 1694 Tournefort could enumerate 10,146 known plants; while, chiefly in consequence of the application of the microscope to the examination of plants, the nature of vegetable tissues, and the minute parts of the structure of plants, were much better known than formerly. Tournefort proposed a method for classifying plants, which had much merit; but his services to botanical science in this respect, as well as in others, were far inferior to those of the Englishman, John Ray (1628–1705), a man of great and varied capacity, and of singular powers of observation. The list of plants known to Ray included 18,655 individuals; and for the purpose of classifying these, he suggested two most important ideas—the distribution of all plants into the two great divisions of flowering plants and flowerless plants; and the further classification of flowering plants, according to the number of their cotyledons or seed-lobes, into *monocotyledons* and *dicotyledons*. This system was not immediately adopted; and in its stead came that of the great Swedish botanist, Carl von Linné, or Linnæus (1707–1778). This illustrious man, besides revising all the botanical knowledge of his predecessors, and enlarging it immensely by his own observations, proposed, under the name of the Sexual System, a system of classification which maintained its ground till a comparatively recent period.

He divided plants into the *phanerogamous*, or flowering, and the *cryptogamous*, or flowerless; and he classified the phanerogams, which are by far the most numerous, into orders, genera, and species, according to the structure of certain portions of their flowers, particularly the stamens and the pistils. Applying this system to the plants known to him, he reduced them to 8551 species, of which 7728 were phanerogamous, and 823 cryptogamous. The Linnæan system, accordingly, became the universal system, and was followed by Sir Joseph Banks and all other botanists during the eighteenth century. In its nature, however, it was artificial, and though it answered very well for the purposes of arrangement, while the number of known species was comparatively few, the enormous increase of species by the additions of plants from India, China, America, and other foreign lands, soon rendered it cumbrous and inadequate. A French botanist, Antoine Laurent de Jussieu (1748–1836), was the first to emancipate the science from the 'verbal system' of Linnæus, by proposing, in 1789, a new system of more natural principles. By this system, in which some of Ray's ideas were revived, plants are classified primarily, according to their degree of organisation, into *acotyledonous*, or seedless plants—corresponding to the cryptogams of Linnæus—and *monocotyledonous* plants, and *dicotyledonous* plants, corresponding to the phanerogams; these divisions being further distributed, according to certain natural analogies, into classes, orders, genera, and species. Jussieu's system, modified by his fellow-countryman, De Candolle, has entirely superseded that of Linnæus; and it is on this system that the herbaria of all great European collections are now arranged, and that the botanical explorers who are now engaged in collecting plants all over the world conduct their researches. In 1845, the total number of known species of plants, according to this system, was 95,000; but every year is adding hundreds of new species to the number. Meanwhile, a most important idea, propounded since the introduction of Jussieu's system, has been slowly making its way into botanical science, and altering the entire character of its speculations. This is the famous

idea of the metamorphosis of plants propounded as long ago as 1790 by the great German poet, Goethe. In that year, Goethe, who had turned his magnificent powers of mind, already so conspicuous in general literature, to certain departments of natural science, published a pamphlet in which he shewed, in the most beautiful manner, that all the parts of a plant are but modifications of the leaf, which, accordingly, is to be taken as the type or unit of all vegetation. For more than twenty years this idea was neglected or sneered at by scientific men, as the mere fancy of a poet meddling with matters which he did not understand; but, recently, its importance has been appreciated, and all the ablest botanists of our day, including Robert Brown, the first of British botanists, regard Goethe as the founder of a new era in the science of plants. 2. *Zoology and Anatomy.*—A considerable quantity of knowledge respecting the forms, habits, &c., of animals, had been accumulated by the Greeks and Romans, and was preserved in the works of Aristotle, Pliny, and some other writers. The Arabs somewhat increased this knowledge by their observations; and a few learned Europeans of the middle ages, among whom Albertus Magnus may be mentioned, had turned their attention to this branch of natural science. The father of modern zoology, however, according to the historians of the science, was Belon, a French traveller of the sixteenth century (1518–1564), who accumulated much information respecting the animal world in general, and more particularly respecting birds and fishes. After him followed Gesner and others; but it was reserved for the great English naturalist Ray (1628–1707) to do for zoology what he also did in botany, and found the science on a firm basis of classification. Contemporary with Ray were two distinguished Dutch naturalists, Leuwenhoek (1632–1723) and Swammerdam (1637–1680), who did much, by the aid of the microscope, to extend the knowledge of insects and other minute animals, as well as of animal tissues. Reaumur, a Frenchman (1683–1757), was also distinguished as a zoologist. The more illustrious Frenchman, Buffon (1707–1788), accomplished much for zoology as an observer and

thinker, but infinitely more by the charms of his style as an expositor, the effect of which was to make the study of natural history popular throughout Europe. Buffon's contemporary, Linnæus (1707–1778), far surpassed him in power of comprehensive arrangement; and his distribution of the animal kingdom into the six great divisions of mammalia, birds, amphibia, fishes, insects, and worms, each with certain sub-divisions, long kept its place in zoology. Still, up to this time, zoology had been pursued in a somewhat loose and empirical manner; the external habits and appearances of animals were what were chiefly attended to, and, though the microscope was much employed, little regard was paid to considerations of internal structure. Anatomy, indeed, was already a recognised science, and had been cultivated as such by many distinguished physicians, among whom the Englishman, William Harvey (1578–1658), is immortal as the author of the great discovery of the circulation of the blood. This discovery had entered into the zoological researches of Ray and Linnæus; but, on the whole, it was with the human frame, and for the purposes of surgery and medicine, that, till about the middle of the eighteenth century, anatomy chiefly concerned itself. About this time, the celebrated Scottish anatomist, John Hunter (1728–1793), immensely extended the science by his researches, and laid the foundations of comparative anatomy, or the science of the structures of animals in comparison with each other. The German, Blumenbach (1752–1837), acquired high distinction by his contributions to this science, and especially by his investigations relating to the analogies of the skulls of animals. But the prince of modern zoologists was the great Frenchman, George Cuvier (1769–1832). Chiefly by the application of comparative anatomy to zoology, he entirely remodelled the whole science of the animal kingdom, establishing the great fundamental division of that kingdom into radiata, articulata, mollusca, and vertebrata, which still holds; and shewing how these several divisions might be further arranged into classes, orders, genera, and species, on the principles of anatomical analogy. Contemporaries of

Cuvier, and celebrated as zoologists, either on account of their success in extending Cuvier's researches in comparative anatomy, or on account of their labours as observers and describers of special departments of the animal kingdom, were Latreille and Lamarck, De Blainville and Milne Edwards, in France; Illiger, Temmenck, Wagler, and others, in Germany and the Netherlands; Macleay and Vigors, in Britain; and Wilson, the ornithologist, in America. But zoology and comparative anatomy have made a step in advance since the time of Cuvier and his immediate disciples. The German poet, Goethe, the effect of whose important discovery of the metamorphosis of plants on botanical science has already been noticed, had propounded similar views as to the structure of animals, calling attention particularly to certain analogies or homologies in the bony structures of all vertebrate animals, which seemed to indicate that there was a common type of which they were all variations. These views, like his views on botany, had lain dormant, or had been neglected as fantastical; but, recently, their importance has been recognised, and they have been introduced into the zoological system of Cuvier, so as to modify it, and lead to new developments of it. The doctrine of animal analogies thus introduced has been carried to a wild extent by the German naturalist, Oken; but it has been developed with greater sobriety by many recent and living naturalists, among whom none rank higher than the Frenchman, Geoffroy St Hilaire, and our fellow-countrymen, Professor Edward Forbes and Professor Owen. In special departments, Yarrell, Gray, Gould, and others are daily adding to our zoological knowledge in this country; and America also possesses many distinguished zoologists, among whom, as a naturalised American, may be mentioned M. Agassiz.

508. Distinct from botany, considered as a science merely descriptive of the structure, habits, and qualities of plants, is *Vegetable Physiology*, or the science of those functions of nutrition, reproduction, &c., which constitute the life of plants; and similarly distinct from mere external zoology and merely descriptive anatomy, as the

sciences of the structure and habits of animals, is the science of *Animal Physiology*, which takes cognizance of the functions of animal life—such as digestion, the circulation of the blood, respiration, nervous sensation, and the like. The later botanists, indeed—such as Jussieu, Goethe, and others—have also been vegetable physiologists; and the later zoologists and comparative anatomists—such as Oken, Forbes, Owen, &c.—have been by no means mere describers of the forms, structures, and habits of animals, but have advanced important speculations in animal physiology. Still, much remains to be done before general biology, or the science of organised beings, as a whole, shall be thoroughly formed out of those partial sciences of descriptive botany, descriptive zoology, anatomy, &c., which are preparing the way for it. The chemist, Liebig, has contributed valuable materials to biological science by means of his researches in organic chemistry. More purely physiological in their character are the facts and doctrines which have been accumulated under the names of phrenology and mesmerism or animal magnetism. 1. *Phrenology*, a science whose object it is to establish the relations between mental manifestations and the form and structure and substance of the brain in different animals, but more especially in man, was founded by a German physician and anatomist, Dr Gall (1757–1828), who had been led to observe certain correspondences between the character of individuals and the shape of their heads. Pursuing the subject, he came to the conviction that different portions of the brain are organs of different faculties, and that, consequently, so far as the form of the brain could be inferred from the form of the skull, it was possible to ascertain a man's powers and propensities by examining his skull. Dr Spurzheim, a fellow-countryman and pupil of Dr Gall (1776–1832), did much to propagate this doctrine and to make it popular; and he also completed Dr Gall's chart of the phrenological organs. Since his death, Mr George Combe, of Edinburgh, has been the most distinguished expositor of phrenology; and the science has many believers. Even those who reject its doctrines altogether, are of opinion that it has

provisionally done some good, by giving a stimulus to cerebral physiology, or the special study of the brain and nerves in animals, which was very much wanted. This important branch of physiology has certainly been cultivated very assiduously since phrenology made its appearance. 2. In a far less settled state than the facts and doctrines of phrenology are those of *Mesmerism* or *Animal Magnetism*—a science which dates its origin from 1776, when a German physician, Anton Mesmer (born 1734), announced the fact that magnets possessed a power of acting not only on inorganic matter, but also on the nervous organisms of human beings and animals in general. The announcement caused great excitement; much imposture connected itself with it; and many persons made large fortunes by professing to cure diseases by means of magnets. In the course of the numberless experiments made by Mesmer and others, it was found that not only did magnets possess the power of acting on the human nerves, but that crystals and other substances possessed it, and that individuals possessed a similar power of acting upon each other by means of passes, &c. After a while, mesmerism or animal magnetism fell into discredit, a committee of French scientific men having reported against it; and, till recently, it was regarded by all except a few individuals here and there as a gross popular delusion. Within the last twenty years, however, and more especially since 1840, the subject has been revived; able men—such as Dr Elliotson and Mr Braid, in this country, and Reichenbach, in Germany—have written on it; and though much crudeness, and even imposture, is at present mixed up with it, there is no doubt that it expresses some remarkable capabilities of the nervous system, and promises to be the key to many of the superstitions of past ages.

509. Before quitting biology, we may glance at the history of two sciences of a mixed nature connected with it. 1. *Medicine.*—The medical knowledge of Europe at the close of the middle ages consisted of that which had come down in the medical writings of such ancient authors as Hippocrates, Celsus, and Galen; together

with some additions in pharmacy made by the Arabs, and described by such Arabic writers as Avicenna and Averroes. Among the first modern physicians who studied the medical art for themselves were the Italian, Mondini, and the Englishman, Gilbert, in the fourteenth century; and the Englishman, Linacre, in the fifteenth. Schools of medicine had by this time been founded in Italy, France, and England; and dissection was openly practised. The German, Paracelsus (1493–1541), produced a powerful effect on medicine by promulgating a chemical theory of medicine as opposed to the doctrines of Galen; and a violent controversy ensued between the Paracelsians and the Galenists. Vesalius, a Fleming (1514–1564), was the greatest anatomist of his age. Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood (1578–1658), has already been mentioned. The Italian, Malpighi (1628–1694), was the discoverer of the process of circulation. The German, Van Helmont (1577–1644), in opposition to the views both of the chemists and the Galenists, propounded the theory of vitalism, or of a vital principle in animals, distinct from all chemical and mechanical processes, and regulating them all. The Englishman, Sydenham (1624–1689), greatly extended practical medicine by his observations on special diseases. Boerhave, a Dutchman (1668–1738), his fellow-countryman Van Swieten (1700–1772), the German, Haller (1708–1776), and the Scotchman, William Cullen (1712–1790), were all men of great powers, and are still regarded as among the highest authorities in modern medicine. John Brown, a pupil of Cullen (1735–1788), dissented from the views of his master, and propounded some curious views of his own, which, though they have been discarded, helped to advance medical science. Of the successors of Haller, Cullen, and Brown, it is unnecessary to give a list; two names, however, may be mentioned—that of the German, Hahnemann (1755–1835), the founder of the peculiar system of medicine known as homœopathy; and that of Priessnitz, a German, not educated as a physician, who founded or revived the system of hydropathy or the water-cure. 2. *Geology.*—Connected with biology,

subsequent rocks had been formed on the

action of water upon these primary rocks, wearing away their substance gradually, and depositing it in the form of sedimentary strata. This speculation had a great effect on geological science, and maintained its ground, notwithstanding that Ray and others opposed it, and argued that all the appearances of the earth's crust could be accounted for by the action of more ordinary causes still in operation. The naturalist, Buffon (1707–1788), attempted to reconcile the views of Leibnitz with those of Ray. Dr James Hutton of Edinburgh (1726–1797), abandoning these speculations, devoted himself to the observation of actual geological phenomena, which he explained on the supposition of a continual twofold agency —that of the gradual abrasion and degradation of the land by the air and water, so as to form sedimentary deposits at the bottom of the sea; and that of internal heat raising the bed of the sea, and sometimes bursting through the surface, and tilting up or disrupting the superincumbent strata. Contemporary with Hutton, were the Germans, Lehman and Pallas, and the Englishman, Mitchell, each of whom did much to perfect the theory of rock-formations, and to make clear the distinction between primary and stratified rocks. The German, Werner (1750–1817), obtained a high name among geologists by his careful classification of rocks, and by his confirmation of the fact, that rocks lie above each other always in a certain invariable order. William Smith, originally an English land-surveyor (1769–1839), did more than any man of his day to advance geology. Early convinced of the truth of a certain orderly succession of strata, he arrived at the important idea, that this fact implied that each stratum had in succession been the bed of the sea; and he also shewed that the vegetable and animal remains preserved in each stratum were different—those of the lower or older rocks being relics of an earlier age of creation than those of the upper or later rocks. He developed these views as early as 1799; and in 1801 he published a geological map of England and Wales, in which they were illustrated. Mr Smith may thus be considered the father of modern geology—all subsequent

geologists having proceeded on his idea, that each successive stratum contains in its fossil remains a record of the history of the earth during one of the eras of its primeval existence while man was not yet upon it, and having devoted their own labours to the detailed examination of the fossils of different strata, so as to read the records aright. The great comparative anatomist, Cuvier, did immense service to geology by reconstructing, out of fragments of fossil remains, the entire original forms of the animals to which they had belonged, so as to exhibit to the eye the actual shapes of those reptiles and other monstrous creatures, unlike any now existing, which peopled the earth in ages long gone by. Among subsequent geologists who have continued and extended the researches of Smith and Cuvier, and deduced important doctrines from them, are our fellow-countrymen, Lyell, Buckland, Delabeche, and Murchison; but in every country there are geologists, who, by their investigations, are continually adding facts to the science.

510. VI. *The Moral and Social Sciences.*—Under this general title, as we have said, are included a group of individual sciences, each bearing a distinct name, and claiming a distinct field, and yet all related to each other, as appertaining to man in his rational capacity, as a thinking and active being. Psychology, for example, is the science of mental phenomena in general; logic is the science of the necessary or structural laws according to which the mind thinks; ethics is the science of right and wrong, or of the principles of human duty; æsthetics is the science of the principles of taste or beauty; metaphysics is the science of the relations of human reason to all real or independent existence; theology is the knowledge of the Divine Being, so far as he is revealed to man in nature, reason, conscience, or Scripture; historical, or social science proper, is the science of the laws which regulate social phenomena in general, or the actions of men in the mass; and jurisprudence is the science of the mutual rights of men as members of society. All these sciences being related to each other, it has happened that they have in general been cultivated by the

same persons. As in most cases, however, they have been treated in a mixed or popular manner, and not as pure sciences, it will be enough to mention most of the names connected with them under the head of literature in general; and we shall here refer only to two classes of writers, as being of a character so important as to require to be distinguished from literary men in the ordinary sense—first, the speculative philosophers or metaphysical thinkers, properly so called, who have made it their business to discuss, in a profound scientific manner, the highest questions relating to man and his nature, and whose speculations on these subjects have mingled with the thoughts of mankind, and affected their practice in all departments; and, secondly, the social philosophers, properly so called, or those who have attempted to found an inductive science of social phenomena, of politics and of history. (1.) *Speculative or Metaphysical Philosophy.*—The greatest speculative philosophers of the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth centuries, were Bacon and Descartes, already mentioned as the authors of the new movement in human thought begun in these centuries; but more purely metaphysical than these in the nature of their researches were—the Frenchman, Peter Ramus (1515–1572), who distinguished himself as the antagonist of the Aristotelian philosophy; the Italian, Giordano Bruno, who, for similar opinions, was burnt alive at Rome as a heretic (1600); and the Italian, Thomas Campanella (1568–1639), whose speculative boldness led to his imprisonment and torture by the tribunals of the Inquisition. The nature of the speculations of these men, it is impossible to explain here: suffice it to say, that they all propounded new and acute doctrines respecting human nature, in its relations to the infinite and to the future state. Their immediate successors in this high speculative philosophy were—the English metaphysician, Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679); and the more famous Benedict Spinoza (1623–1677), the son of a Portuguese Jew, but born in Amsterdam. The speculations of Hobbes, both on human nature and on government, provoked a vehement controversy among his

contemporaries, which has lasted even to our days. Spinoza was the author of the system of theology known as modern Pantheism. The next great names in metaphysical philosophy are those of the Frenchman, Malebranche (1628–1715), the Englishman, John Locke (1632–1704), and the German, Leibnitz (1646–1716). Malebranche was one of the ablest disciples of Descartes, whose views on metaphysical subjects he developed and extended. Locke propounded a system of philosophy, the peculiarity of which consisted in the absoluteness with which it affirmed that all human knowledge was derived solely from experience, and that there could be no ideas in the human mind except such as the senses furnished. Leibnitz, on the other hand, denied this doctrine of Locke, and maintained that there are notions and beliefs in the human mind of a character which could not be derived from experience, and must therefore be regarded as necessary or involved in the very constitution of the mind. This antagonism between the Lockian and the Leibnitzian philosophies is only the modern form of a great controversy which has divided philosophers in all ages. Subsequently to Locke, speculative philosophy in Britain was prosecuted with unusual activity by a series of able metaphysicians, of whom the most celebrated were the Irishman, George Berkeley, bishop of Cloyne (1684–1753), author of the so-called system of 'Idealism;' the Englishmen, Dr Samuel Clarke (1675–1729) and Bishop Butler (1692–1753), whose metaphysical speculations were chiefly of a theological character; and the Scottish philosophers, David Hume (1711–1776), Thomas Reid (1710–1796), Dugald Stewart (1753–1828), and Dr Thomas Brown (1778–1820). The last-named Scottish philosophers were especially distinguished, and the so-called 'Scottish school of philosophy' which they founded produced powerful effects, not only in Britain, but throughout Europe. Hume, by a metaphysical analysis of the grounds of human knowledge and belief, attempted to establish a system of complete scepticism, in which all certainty in external nature was destroyed, and all the facts of nature were made out to be nothing more

than a succession of ideas in the human mind itself. Reid, coming after Hume, and opposing him, endeavoured to restore certainty by propounding what he called the philosophy of common sense—that is, the doctrine of certain ultimate or fundamental principles which must be taken for granted as admitted by all, and upon which, as a firm basis, all knowledge must be reared. Dugald Stewart was a disciple of Reid, and an expositor of his views. Dr Brown, while agreeing so far with Reid, accorded in some of his speculations rather with Locke and Hume. Meanwhile, in France, the 'sensationalism' of Locke and the 'scepticism' of Hume had become the prevalent systems; the most notable supporter of the former system being Condillac (1715–1780). Even in England, the philosophy of Locke, rather than that of Reid, continued to be the favourite system—modified somewhat by the disquisitions of David Hartley (1705–1757), on the laws of the association of ideas; and by those of Jeremy Bentham (1749–1834), on many philosophical topics. It was reserved for Germany to attack the philosophy of Locke, and also that of Hume, on new grounds. Always averse to the doctrines of sensationalism—as had been shewn in the fact, that the German, Leibnitz, had opposed these doctrines in Locke's own time—the German mind had inclined, by a kind of instinct, to the contrary philosophy, which teaches that there are notions and beliefs in the human mind of a kind which could never be fabricated out of experience. The sceptical system of Hume, however, going further than that of Locke, greatly disturbed the German philosophers in their received habits of thought—the more so as they were not satisfied with that common-sense philosophy which the Scottish metaphysician, Reid, had proposed in reply to Hume. Regarding this common-sense philosophy as too popular, and not sufficiently profound, the Germans desired another. This was furnished to them by the famous Immanuel Kant of Königsberg (1724–1804). Taking up philosophy at the point where Hume had left it, and proceeding on a different method from that of Reid in his endeavour to rebuild what Hume had destroyed,

Kant propounded what has since been called the 'Transcendental Philosophy'—the main idea of which is, that though most of the material of human knowledge is derived from sensible experience, yet it is not all so derived; some of the ideas being of a kind transcending the domain of the senses altogether, while at the same time the *form* of all human knowledge is determined by certain principles imbedded in the very structure of the mind itself. The philosophy thus taught by Kant immediately took root in Germany; and the labours of many subsequent German metaphysicians—of whom the most celebrated are Fichte (1762–1814), Schelling (died 1854), and Hegel (1770–1831)—have consisted in developments of the Kantian philosophy, and in controversies arising out of it. Of amazing profundity and subtlety, the German or transcendental philosophy has of late affected the course of thought, not only in Germany, but in other countries. Thus, in England, some of its doctrines were propounded, as counteractive to the sensationalism of Locke, and to the views of Hartley and Bentham, by the celebrated Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1773–1834), who is accordingly to be regarded as the author of a new movement in English speculation. In France, also, the doctrines of the sensational school have recently been shaken by the importation of parts of the German philosophy by Cousin and others. Lastly, in Scotland itself, already provided as it was with a native philosophy antagonistic both to Locke and Hume, this philosophy has been extended and deepened by the speculations of men fully instructed in the sister-philosophy of the Germans, and able to blend the two philosophies and to correct them by each other. Of these new Scottish philosophers, the most illustrious is Sir William Hamilton of Edinburgh. (2.) *Social and Political or Historical Science.*—The idea of a certain regular order in human affairs has been familiar in some form or other to the human mind, and especially to the mind of the pious, in all ages; but the first conception of a positive or inductive 'science of history'—the first distinct notion of the possibility of ascertaining the laws which regulate

social phenomena, as well as the laws which regulate physical phenomena—belongs to the Italian, Giovanni Battista Vico (1668–1744). In 1725, this remarkable man, who was born at Naples, published a work, entitled *Principles of a New Science Relative to the Common Nature of Nations*, in which he argued that as the whole history of the world was but the carrying out of an idea which had existed eternally in the Divine mind; so, by the careful observation of the facts of history, it would be possible to ascertain the nature of this idea and the course which events must necessarily pursue. He argued, also, that whenever circumstances were the same, nations, like individuals, would always act in the same manner; so that from the analogy of the past, it would be possible to say what would happen in a community in given circumstances, and even to foretell the duration of a nation's life. His own theory was, that history, on the whole, revolved in a cycle continually repeating itself; and he regarded the modern history of the world, dating from the ruin of the Roman Empire, as likely to be in the main a repetition of the ancient history which then came to a close. These views, though crude in many respects, were highly suggestive; and Vico's idea of a possible science of history, to be added to the other sciences, took hold of other minds. In France, Montesquieu (1689–1755) did much to confirm the idea by his work on the *Spirit of Laws* (1748), in which he shewed the influence of climate and other such causes on national institutions and character; and Condorcet (1743–1794) was among the first to develop, as opposed to Vico's notion of a cyclical course of history, the notion of a regular and continuous evolution or progress in all social arrangements. In Germany, the philosopher Kant distinctly propounded the idea of the subjection of all the complex phenomena of society to invariable and universal laws which, though it was not so easy to discover them as it was to discover the laws of physical nature, still existed, and might by patient observation be in some cases detected. His fellow-countryman, Herder (1741–1803), developed the same train of thought in his *Ideas towards a Philosophy*

of History, published in 1774; and Fichte and Hegel likewise included historical science in their speculations. The writings of Jeremy Bentham in England also were full of doctrines respecting politics and jurisprudence, for which he claimed a scientific value. On the whole, however, the chief effect of all these views was to introduce a general desire to treat history in a more philosophical manner than hitherto, and so to affect the manner in which contemporary historians wrote their works; and it has only been of late that some thinkers have ventured to revive Vico's idea of the possibility of making such correct generalisations from the facts of history as to reduce politics to a certainty. The French Socialists, St Simon and Fourier (§ 360), believed that they had ascertained, in part at least, the true laws of social order and progress, and founded their systems for the reorganisation of society on these supposed inductions; and recently, a living French philosopher, Auguste Comte, originally a disciple of St Simon, has formally treated of the social science under the name of 'Sociology,' and has laid down what he considers fundamental doctrines in that science, for all future thinkers to take along with them. It will be long before any body of certain truths can be got together regarding matters so various and fluctuating as the movements of societies and governments. In the meantime, it is matter for congratulation that, by the labours of sober and patient inquirers into one single department of social procedure, a body of truths in that one department has been accumulated, round which as a nucleus others may gather. We allude to the science of *Political Economy*, whose object it is to ascertain not the laws of social phenomena in general, but only the laws of that special class of social phenomena which are concerned with the acquisition and distribution of national wealth. This class of phenomena, from its very nature, had for a long time occupied the attention of thoughtful men, especially such as were connected with commerce or statesmanship; and very important notions respecting the economy of states had been advanced by successive writers in different countries—including Hobbes, Locke, Sir

William Petty, and Sir Dudley North, in England; Bandini, Broggia, Galiani, Genovesi, and others, in Italy; and François Quesnay (born 1694), Turgot, and others, in France. It was reserved, however, for the illustrious Scotchman, Adam Smith (1723–1791), to establish the science of political economy on a firm basis of fundamental principles. His work on the *Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776, has been the great text-book of political economy ever since; the views of that work having in some cases been universally adopted, while in others they have given rise to controversies which have helped to advance the science. The chief authors in political economy in Britain, since the time of Adam Smith, have been Malthus (1766–1834), James Mill (1773–1836), Ricardo, Dr Chalmers (1780-1847), M'Culloch, Senior, Torrens, and John Stuart Mill. In France, the science has been cultivated by J. B. Say (1767–1832), Sismondi, and many others; in Germany, by Storch and Jakob; in Italy, by Filangieri, Rossi, Pecchio, and others; and in America, by numerous writers of more or less ability. On the whole, though the science is still only in process of consolidation, and is much agitated by controversy, it contains many settled principles of great service in government and legislation.

511. LITERATURE SINCE THE REFORMATION.—A survey of the progress of Literature since the Reformation must, in order to be comprehensive, include the following five divisions:—I. The Literature of the Southern or Latin Nations of Europe—namely, France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal—the languages of which countries are but so many distinct derivations from the Latin. II. The Literature of the Gothic or Northern Nations—namely, Great Britain, Germany, the Netherlands, and the Scandinavian countries—the languages of which, though different, are all of one Gothic stock. III. The Literature of the Slavonian Nations, such as the Poles, the Bohemians, the Russians, &c. IV. The Literature of the Modern Greeks. And V. The Literatures of the various Oriental Nations.

512. I. THE LITERATURE OF THE LATIN NATIONS.—

(1.) *French Literature.*—Resuming the history of French Literature at the commencement of the reign of Francis I. (see MEDIEVAL HISTORY, § 403), we have first to enumerate the most distinguished writers of France during that eventful reign (1515–1547). Among these must be reckoned Francis himself, and his sister, Marguerite de Valois, both of whom were fond of literature, and wrote light verses and other such trifles very agreeably. To the same reign belong the poets, Clement Marot (1495–1544), Joachim Dubellay (1492–1560), and Etienne Dolet, the last of whom was burnt at the stake for his Protestant opinions; also, the reformer Calvin, whose writings were mostly in Latin (1509–1564); and the scholars and philosophers, Budæus (died 1540) and Robert Etienne or Stephens (1503–1559). Many poets, critics, and scholars of less note might also be mentioned as having lived in France during the time when Protestantism was first struggling with Catholicism in that country. One name there is, however, which stands pre-eminent in the vernacular French literature of this age—that of Francis Rabelais (1483–1553). This extraordinary man is unique, not only in French literature, but almost in universal modern literature, for the wild and all but insane nature of his genius. His works, which are satires on his own age and on human nature in general, put forth in the shape of extravagant allegorical stories about giants and the like, are an incredible combination of coarseness, profanity, grotesque imagination, and deep humour.

513. The reigns of Henry II. (1547–1559), Francis II. (1559–1560), Charles IX. (1560–1574), Henry III. (1574–1589), Henry IV. (1589–1610), and Louis XIII. (1610–1643), formed, as regards literature, a mere continuation of that of Francis I., presenting an increased abundance of literary activity, but scarcely any new features. To the century included in these reigns belong the philosophers Ramus and Descartes, already mentioned; and the scholars, philosophers, and theologians, Theodore Beza (1520–1605), Henry Etienne or Stephens (1528–1598), J. J. Scaliger (1540–1609), and Casaubon (1559–1614). Historians or memoir-writers of the same period were—

Thuanus or De Thou (1553–1617); Blaise de Monluc; Michel de Castelnau; Sully, the famous minister of Henry IV. (1560–1641); Perefixe; Brantome; Henry, Duke of Rohan; Jean Serran or Serranus; and Jean Bodin. The writings of these authors were, for the most part, memoirs of the military and political events of their own times—times, it is to be remembered, of almost incessant civil warfare on religious grounds. Nor were poets and miscellaneous writers wanting. Ronsard (1524–1585) ranked as the first French poet of the age, till his fame was eclipsed by that of Malherbe (1556–1628), whom the French still regard as one of the ornaments of their literature. Regnier, Passerat, and others, were distinguished in satire and epigram; and the French drama received a new impulse from the works and precepts of Etienne Jodelle, a young seigneur of the reign of Henry II., who had a passion for theatrical performances. Successors of Jodelle in the drama were Bonnin, De la Taille, Filleul, Robert Garnier (1534–1590), Fronton, and others. Perhaps the greatest purely literary name of this whole period, however, is that of Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592), whose *Essays* are known everywhere and read everywhere for their shrewd sense and kindly and quaint philosophy, as well as for their garrulous egotism.

514. The long reign of Louis XIV. (1643–1715) was the golden age of French literature. It was by the labours of a great number of writers in all departments, belonging to this reign, that the French language was brought to that perfection of precision, polish, and elegance, which has since made it the language of high society and of diplomacy all over Europe; and though, owing to the domineering influence of the court over the literary activity of this period, something of that independence of thought and rough national originality was lost which had characterised previous writers in France, and a kind of artificial tone, both of thought and of style, was contracted, of which the French have never since been able to shake themselves free, yet it is with justice that they look back upon this period as the age of their highest literary glory. It was then, at least, that the French

drama culminated. Gradually improved since the time of Jodelle by the dramatists mentioned as having succeeded him, the French theatre had become a regular Parisian institution, under the immediate patronage of the court. Among the ornaments of this theatre, about the middle of the seventeenth century, were Alexandre Hardy, Mairet, and Tristan, each of whom was a prolific writer. The reputation of these writers, however, fell before that of the great Corneille (1606–1684), whose tragedies are among the master-pieces of French literature. At least equally great in comedy as Corneille was in tragedy, was Molière (1620–1673), a man of inimitable genius in his department, and whom some consider as on the whole the best of all the French writers. The successor of Corneille in tragedy, and superior to him in grace and tenderness, if inferior to him in sublimity, was Racine (1639–1699). Contemporary, however, with the three princes of the French drama—Corneille, Molière, and Racine—were many other dramatic writers, of whom the most worthy of mention were D'Aubignac, Pradon, Lafosse, and Crebillon the elder. Nor were there wanting poets out of the field of the drama. Racan (1589–1670) is still considered the best pastoral poet of France; the versified fables of Lafontaine (1621–1695) are admired everywhere; Boileau (1636–1711) still holds a high rank as a didactic poet, critic, and satirist; and though the lyric poet, J. B. Rousseau (1670–1741), the pastoral poet, Segrais, the epic or narrative poet, Chapelain, and the versifiers, Chapelle, Chaulieu, &c., are now little read, they were celebrated in their day. In the department of the prose-tale or novel, Calprenede (died 1663), Mademoiselle de Scuderi, Bussy Rabutin, Charles Perrault, Count Hamilton, and others, enjoyed a temporary fame; but the greatest names in this department were those of Scarron, the comic novelist (1610–1660), the high-minded Archbishop Fenélon (1651–1715), whose allegorical tale of *Telemachus* is such a universal favourite, and Le Sage (1668–1747), the author of *Gil Blas* and other novels. Letter-writing was much cultivated as a literary art by the ladies and gentlemen of the court of Louis XIV.; and the *Letters* of the Marchioness

de Sevigné, and those of Madame de Maintenon, take a place among the French classics, both on account of their talent and as pictures of French society in that age. During the same period, pulpit oratory in France reached its height; and the sermons of Bossuet (1627–1704), Bourdaloue (1632–1704), Fléchier, and Massillon (1663–1762), as well as those of the Protestant clergyman, Saurin (1677–1730), are still read as splendid specimens of pulpit eloquence. Among historians of this age, the most celebrated were Bossuet and Fleury (1640–1722), both of whom were church-historians; Basnage (1653–1723); Vertot (1655–1735); Montfaucon (1655–1741); Rapin (1661–1725); and Rollin (1661–1741)—to whom may be added the memoir-writers, the Cardinal de Retz (1614–1679) and the Duke de St Simon, and the learned antiquary, Ducange. Lastly, amid an illustrious band of philosophical, political, polemical, critical, and miscellaneous writers may be distinguished Menage (1630–1692); St Evremond (1613–1703); the noble Pascal (1623–1662); the Duke de Rochefoucault (1613–1680), whose *Maxims* are well known; La Bruyere (1644–1696); Malebranche (1628–1715), already noticed as a metaphysician; Arnauld and Nicolle, the friends of Pascal, and his associates in the Jansenist controversy against the Jesuits; the famous critic, Peter Bayle (1647–1706), whose *Dictionary* is in all large libraries; and Fontenelle (1657–1757), also distinguished as a pastoral poet and letter-writer.

515. Some of the writers mentioned in the foregoing paragraph outlived, it will be observed, the reign of Louis XIV., and so belong in part to the next era of French literature—that which, extending from the death of this monarch to the commencement of the French Revolution, embraces the two reigns of Louis XV. (1715–1774) and Louis XVI. (1774–1793). On the whole, however, this era has a character of its own, and is represented by different names. The chief representative of the French mind during this era, and the greatest French writer in almost every department, both of verse and of prose, was the famous François-Marie

Arouet de Voltaire (1694–1778). His voluminous works included histories, poems, dramas, tales, philosophical disquisitions, and letters; and all were distinguished by extraordinary wit and talent, as well as by that sceptical spirit which seemed characteristic of the eighteenth century everywhere, but more especially in France. Contemporary with Voltaire, and more or less affected by his influence, though they had peculiar characteristics of their own, were—the novelist, Crebillon the younger (1674–1762); the novelist, Marivaux (1688–1763); the historian and philosopher, Montesquieu (1689–1755); the famous Jean Jacques Rousseau (1711–1771), who ranks among Frenchmen, though he was born in Switzerland, and the enthusiastic and impassioned character of whose writings rendered them in part antagonistic to those of Voltaire; the sceptical philosopher, Helvetius (1715–1771); the equally sceptical philosopher, novelist, critic, and miscellaneous writer, Diderot (1713–1784); the metaphysician, Condillac (1715–1780); the poets, Gresset (1709–1777), Piron, and others; the poet and tale-writer, Marmontel (1723–1799); the philosophers and men of science, D'Alembert (1717–1784), Bailly (1736–1793), and Condorcet (1743–1794); the geographer, D'Anville (1697–1782), and the historical writers, Mably, Goguet (1717–1758), Barthelemy (1716–1795), Raynal (1718–1794), Millot (1726–1785), De Guignes (1721–1800), and Rulhieres.

516. The rule of Napoleon, though favourable to science and to all practical applications of the intellect, was unfavourable to pure literature; and, accordingly, the history of French literature from the time of the French Revolution to the fall of the Napoleonian Empire (1789–1815) is comparatively a blank. The only literary names of importance which can be referred to this period are those of Bernardin St Pierre, the celebrated author of *Paul and Virginia*, and other tales (1737–1814); the poet, Delille (1738–1813); the philosophical and historical writer, Volney (1755–1820); the famous miscellaneous writer, Madame de Staël (1766–1817); the less famous Madame de Genlis (1746–1830); and the equally famous

Châteaubriand (1769–1848). Both Madame de Staël and Châteaubriand lived in exile from France during the greater part of Napoleon's reign; and some of the most brilliant works of the latter were produced after the Restoration. It was after the Restoration, too, that that cluster of remarkable writers, some of them still living, arose, who, by their works in various departments, initiated the present era of French literature. Béranger, the greatest of French lyric poets, and whose songs are on the lips of all Frenchmen, was born in 1780, and was already known as a poet in the time of the Empire; but the period of his greatest activity was the interval between the Restoration and the accession of Louis-Philippe (1815–1830). It was during the same period that the poets and miscellaneous writers, Lamartine (born 1790) and Victor Hugo (born 1802), the dramatist and miscellaneous poet, Casimir Delavigne, and the historian and political writer, Guizot (born 1787), first revealed their powers. Guizot, however, is only one of many eminent historical writers whom France has produced during the last forty years. Augustin Thierry, Sismondi, Mignet, Barante, Capefigue, the Abbé Montgaillard, Lacretelle, Michaud, Michelet, Thiers, Louis Blanc, and many others still living or recently dead, have all contributed by their works to raise the character of historical literature in France. Among recent French writers of fiction, Madame George Sand, Balzac, Alfred de Vigny, and Nodier may be mentioned as holding the chief rank; but French writers of this class, as well as dramatists, are almost innumerable. In no species of literature, however, has the altered spirit of French thought since the period of the French Revolution been more conspicuous than in that of philosophical and religious disquisition. For some time after the Revolution, the philosophy of Locke continued prevalent, and was even pushed to the extreme of materialism by such writers as Cabanis (1756–1807), Destutt de Tracy, Volney, and others. Against this materialistic school, however, a reaction took place about the period of the Restoration, in the direction of revived spiritualism or religious belief.

—the reaction being led by such writers as the Count de Maistre, who advocated the claims of the Catholic Church to absolute obedience; and the Abbé Lamennais, who, with equal zeal on behalf of a spiritual faith, proclaimed opinions which ultimately separated him from that church. The influence of both these writers is discernible throughout the whole recent literature of France, which is far less sceptical in its spirit than the corresponding literature of the eighteenth century. In the case of Pierre Leroux and others, there has been a curious blending of the revived religious philosophy with the doctrines of socialism. A philosophic school, differing from both the sensational and materialistic school of Cabanis and his disciples, and the spiritualistic school of De Maistre and Lamennais, is the so-called eclectic school, founded by De Gerando, Keratry, Royer Collard, Jouffroy, and others, and of which M. Cousin is the most distinguished modern representative. M. Auguste Comte, the author of the so-called system of 'Positive Philosophy,' holds a place by himself.

517. (2.) *Italian Literature.*—The greatest Italian writers of the early part of the sixteenth century were the poet, Ariosto (1476–1533), and the historians and statesmen, Macchiavelli (1469–1527) and Guicciardini (1482–1540); and the lives of these men, like those of their great compatriots, Michael Angelo and Raphael, may be regarded as connecting-links between medieval and modern Italy (see MEDIEVAL HISTORY, § 406). Among the other *cinquecentisti*—by which name the Italians collectively designate all their greatest men of this century—may be mentioned the poets, Sannazaro (1458–1530), Berni (died 1536), Vida (1480–1566), Guarini (1537–1612), the famous Torquato Tasso (1544–1595), Marini (1569–1625), and Tassoni (1565–1635); the historians, Bembo (1470–1547), Varchi (1502–1565), Davanzati (1529–1606), Vasari, Ammirato (1531–1601), and Sarpi (1552–1619); the essayist, Castiglione; and the scholars and Latin writers, Julius Cæsar Scaliger (1484–1558) and Baronius (1538–1607). These writers form a very illustrious cluster; and poetry such as that of Ariosto and

Tasso, and profound political intellect such as that shewn in the works of Macchiavelli and Guicciardini, would do honour to any age; but, on the whole, the Italians see in these *cinquecentisti*, with all their excellences, symptoms of decay and weakness, as compared with that older generation of which Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio were the chiefs. This decay became more manifest in the seventeenth century, when the last relics of political independence over a great part of Italy were destroyed under the inquisitorial despotism of Spain. The poet, Marini, set an example of false and enfeebled taste, which more or less affected Italian poetry and art of all kinds during this century. Still, there were men belonging to this age of Italian literature of no ordinary ability in their several departments; among whom may be noted the poets, Guidi, Chiabrera (1552–1637), Salvator Rosa (1615–1673), who was a poet as well as a painter, Filicaja (1642–1707), and Menzini (1646–1704); and the historians, scholars, and political writers, Davila (1576–1631), Bentivoglio (1579–1644), Strada (1572–1649), and Bellarmino (1542–1621). The seventeenth century, also, was the great age of Italian science; and, possessing such first-rate men of science as Galileo, Torricelli, Cassini, and Malpighi, Italy could afford for the time to be content with second-rate men of literature. In the eighteenth century, while still maintaining, by means of such men as Boscovich, Spallanzani, Galvani, Volta, Fontana, and Lagrange, her reputation in the sciences, Italy could boast of a succession of literary men on the whole superior to those of the previous century. To this age belong the political philosopher, Vico, already mentioned (1670–1740); the philosophers, Algarotti (1712–1764), Genovesi (1712–1769), Beccaria (1735–1794), and Filangieri (1752–1788), also distinguished for their spirit of deep reflection both on metaphysical and social subjects; the Latin jurist, Gravina (1664–1728); the historians, Maffei (1675–1755), Muratori (1672–1750), Giannone (1676–1769), and Denina (1731–1813); the literary historian, Tiraboschi (1730–1794); the historian of the fine arts, Lanzi (1732–1810); the miscellaneous writers, critics, and poets, Fortiguerra

(1674–1735), Zeno (1688–1750), Pignotti (1739–1812), and Cesarotti (1750–1808); the poet, Casti (1721–1803); and the three eminent dramatic poets, Metastasio (1698–1782), Goldoni (1707–1795), and Alfieri (1749–1803). The poet, Alfieri, was a man of powerful genius: he created modern Italian tragedy; and by his example he infused a bolder and more manly spirit into Italian poetical literature, and rescued it from the state of sweet and musical feebleness into which it had fallen. The possession of Italy by the French, during the dominion of Napoleon, tended to impart a French tone to Italian thought and literature at the beginning of the present century; but the influence was resisted by Alfieri and others; and during the present century, Italy has produced a series of writers remarkable at once for their talent, their national spirit, and the beauty of their style. Among these may be mentioned the historians, Botta, Micali, Bossi, Colletta, and Serra; the poets, Monti, Niccolini, Pellico, and Grossi; the poet, novelist, and philosopher, Manzoni, author of the *Promessi Sposi;* the critic and miscellaneous writer, Foscolo; and the political writers, Gioia, Rossi, D'Azeglio, and Gioberti.

518. (3.) *Spanish Literature.*—The promise which existed of the rise of a truly national literature in Spain during the splendid reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella (see MEDIEVAL HISTORY, § 407), was not disappointed. The great transactions of these reigns, including as they did the wars against the Moors and the first conquests in America, gave rise to numerous histories and memoirs by Spaniards, some of which yet remain in manuscript, as well as to an outburst of romantic ballad-poetry, such as few other countries possess. The origin of the Spanish drama also dates from this period. It is not, however, till the period of the great Spanish Empire of Charles V. (1516–1555), and his son, Philip II. (1555–1598), that any Spanish writers of such eminence as to be recognised by the rest of Europe, emerge from the general crowd of writers enumerated by the Spanish historians as the earliest ornaments of their language. Juan Boscan Almogavar (1496–1543) was perhaps the first Spanish

poet who taught the Castilian language its full power in verse; and this he did partly by introducing Italian metres and imitating Italian models. He was followed by Garcilago de la Vega (1503–1536), a writer of beautiful eclogues; Don Diego de Mendoza, the minister of Charles V. (1503–1575), and a scholar as well as a poet; Saa de Miranda (1495–1558), and Jorge de Montemayor (1520–1560), both of whom were of Portuguese birth, but wrote chiefly in Spanish, in which they excelled in pastoral poetry and romance; Pedro Padilla, also a pastoral poet; and Luis de Leon (1527–1591), a religious and moral poet. Somewhat opposed to the Italian influence of these poets, and more attached to old Castilian forms, were the poets, Christoval de Castillejo and Antonio de Villegas. Spanish historians of the same century were Las Casas (1474–1566), Zurita (1512–1581), and, more distinguished than either, Mariana (1536–1623) and Herrera (1565–1625). But by far the greatest name in Spanish literature of this or indeed of any period, is that of Miguel de Cervantes (1547–1616), the immortal author of *Don Quixote*, and whom the Spaniards venerate as the Italians do their Dante, or the English their Shakspeare. The influence of Cervantes on the genius of Spanish literature was vast; and, except in one department, he had no successor at all comparable to him. This department was that of the drama. Cultivated by a series of Spanish writers, and among them by Cervantes himself during the sixteenth century, the Spanish drama did not attain its highest celebrity till the seventeenth, or during the reigns of Philip III. (1598–1621), Philip IV. (1621–1665), and Charles II. (1665–1700). The man who did most to raise it to this celebrity was Lope de Vega (1568–1635), whose literary industry is unparalleled in history. He used to write a complete drama in verse in a single day; and altogether he wrote upwards of two thousand such dramas, of which about four hundred have been printed. Nor was his facility in composition his only merit; his plays abounded with interest, and were admirably adapted for stage-effect; and many of them are still acted and received with as much relish as ever.

He had many dramatic contemporaries and successors, of whom by far the greatest was Calderon de la Barca (1601–1687), a man of equal powers, and yet with peculiar merits, which distinguished him from Vega. Contemporaries of Vega and Calderon were the miscellaneous poets, Gongora (1562–1627), and Sousa, a Portuguese by birth (1590–1649), both of whom were accused of corrupting Spanish poetry by affectation and foreign taste; the historian, Solis (1610–1686); and the critic and political writer, Quevedo (1570–1647). After the seventeenth century, the literary greatness of Spain waned like her political greatness; and with the exception of the philosophical writers, Feyjoo (1701–1765) and Jovellanos (1749–1812), and the poets, Moratin (died 1780) and Yriarte (1750–1798), the eighteenth century exhibits scarcely any Spanish authors of European note. The Spanish writers of the present century are hardly known out of Spain; one of the most distinguished of them is Martinez de la Rosa.

519. (4.) *Portuguese Literature.*—From the above sketch of the history of Spanish literature, it will be perceived that some Portuguese writers preferred the Castilian language, or the language of Spain Proper, for literary purposes. Portugal, however, still preserved its own national tongue, which, till the sixteenth century, was perhaps richer in literary products than that of Spain (see MEDIEVAL HISTORY, § 407); and the more patriotic of the Portuguese continued to cultivate the literary capacities of this tongue, even though occasionally using the Castilian. Among the Portuguese writers of the sixteenth century, the most celebrated is the national poet, Luys de Camoens (1524–1579), whose *Lusiad*, celebrating the naval exploits of the Portuguese, ranks among the great modern epics. The Spaniards, with a literature so rich in other respects, have no national epic comparable to this of their neighbours. Of inferior note to Camoens, but belonging to the same century, were the poet, Ribeyro; the dramatist, Gil Vicente, the father of the Portuguese drama; his successor, Saa Miranda, already mentioned among Spanish authors, but who also wrote in Portuguese;

the poets, Ferreyra, Lobo (1496–1570), Cotereal, and Bernaldez; the historian, Barros (1496–1570), who wrote the annals of Portugal, and whom the Portuguese call their Livy; the historian, Brito (1570–1617), whose works also relate to Portuguese history; the traveller, Mendez Pinto; and a number of writers of tales and romances, such as Moraes, Sotemayor, and Rebello. During the seventeenth century, Portugal had few writers of note besides Faria de Sousa and others, who, like him, wrote mostly in Spanish. Cordeiro, Bacellar, and Severim de Faria, are names of this century. It is to be remembered, that from 1580 to 1641 Portugal was a dependency of the Spanish crown (§§ 54–56), which will account for the neglect of the native language at this time in favour of the Castilian. Even after Portugal had again become independent under the dynasty of Braganza, however, the same neglect continued; and it was not till about a century after that event, and during the enlightened administration of the Marquis de Pombal (§ 160), that Portuguese literature revived. The most distinguished Portuguese writers during the century which has elapsed since that administration began, are the poets, Ericeyra, Pereira, Lima, Costa, Judeo, Garcao, Cabral de Vasconcellos, Catharina de Sousa, Manoel, and Barboza. There have not during the same time been any very eminent Portuguese prose-writers.

520. II. LITERATURE OF THE GOTHIC NATIONS. (1.) *British Literature.*—Like the whole of the fifteenth century (see MEDIEVAL HISTORY, § 413), the greater part of the sixteenth was a period of comparative literary sterility in England. This is to be accounted for, not by supposing any deficiency of intellect in England at that time, but by remembering that the intellect of the country was then too much taken up with the important controversies arising out of the Reformation, to have time for the recreations of calm and pure literature. The eminent Englishmen of the reigns of Henry VIII. (1509–1547), Edward VI. (1547–1553), and Mary (1553–1558), were for the most part men of learning and scholarship, whose writings, when they wrote at all, were of a grave theological

or polemical character. Such men were the statesmen, Sir Thomas More (1480–1535) and Sir Thomas Elyot (died 1540), and the Reforming divines, Tyndal, Cranmer, Latimer, and others. More properly literary in the character of their writings were, the satiric poet, Skelton (1460–1529); the sentimental poets, Sir Thomas Wyatt (1503–1541), and the Earl of Surrey (1515–1547); and John Heywood, the epigrammatist and writer of interludes for the stage (died 1565). None of these writers, however, were of very high mark, or at all equal to the contemporary Scottish poets, William Dunbar (1465-1536), Gawin Douglas (1474–1522), and Sir David Lindsay (died 1567).

521. The great age of English literature began in the reign of Elizabeth (1558–1603), and extended over that of her immediate successor, James I. (1603–1625). Never, perhaps, in the history of the world, has there been an outburst of intellect in all departments in any degree comparable to that which England then witnessed. It seemed as if the nation had only been waiting for that leisure and social order which it began to enjoy under the golden rule of Queen Bess, after the vehement controversies which had agitated the reigns of her father, brother, and elder sister, in order to put forth all its reserved strength in the shape of literature. It was in the drama that the change was first experienced. For more than a century and a half, there had been in England, as in other countries, a rude dramatic literature, consisting of what were called 'miracle-plays,' or scenic representations of incidents from Scripture, generally performed by the priests. To these had succeeded 'moralities,' or 'moral plays,' in which allegorical personages, representing the virtues and vices, appeared on the stage; and such plays were in great favour in the reign of Henry VII. (1485–1509). Gradually, in the subsequent reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary, the beginnings of the regular drama had become visible—in the *Interludes* of John Heywood, already mentioned, and in one or two more express dramatic attempts, of which a historical play by John Bale (1550), a comedy by Nicholas Udall

(1551), and a tragedy by Thomas Sackville, Earl of Buckhurst (1558), were the chief. The example once having been set, was soon followed; and during the first half of Elizabeth's reign, the popular passion for theatrical performances was such, that nearly all the literary talent of the country took this direction. Among the earliest dramatic writers of importance were Thomas Kyd (died 1595), John Lyly (1554–1598), George Peele (died 1596), Thomas Lodge (1556–1616), Thomas Nash, Robert Greene (1555–1592), and, greater than all the rest, Christopher Marlowe (1562–1593). These dramatists, great in their own merits, are still more famous as having prepared the way for a man who takes rank not only as the first of English dramatists, nor even only as the first of English poets, but as the king of all English literature, and as probably the greatest intellect, all in all, in the literature of the world as a whole. William Shakspeare was born at Stratford-on-Avon, in Warwickshire, in 1564; he remained in or near his native place till about his twenty-second year, when he came to London, and connected himself with the stage as an actor and play-writer; from about 1586 to about 1604 he remained in London, writing plays industriously, and also occasional poems of a non-dramatic character; he then returned to Stratford-on-Avon a comparatively rich man; and here, after twelve or thirteen years of calm retirement, during which he continued to send up new plays, at the rate of about one a year, to London, he died in 1616, in the fifty-third year of his age. The works of Shakspeare, consisting of comedies, tragedies, and historical plays, which were first published in a collective form several years after his death, have ever since been the pride and glory of England; they have been translated into all languages; men have become famous by commenting on them and interpreting them; and so long as the English language endures, they will be its grandest monument. And yet Shakspeare was only the topmost man in an age, all the eminent men of which were giants. Contemporaries of Shakspeare in the drama were a number of others, who but for him would have been considered

men of the highest attainable standard—Ben Jonson (1574–1637), who, in the age immediately following, was regarded as almost Shakspeare's rival; John Fletcher (1576–1625) and Francis Beaumont (1586–1615), who wrote plays in concert of marvellous poetical beauty; John Webster, a dramatist of singular genius; Middleton, Decker, Chettle, Marston, and Thomas Heywood, all dramatists of excellence; and Philip Massinger (1584–1640) and John Ford (1586–1639), who are still admired, as only next after Shakspeare, Jonson, and Beaumont and Fletcher. Nor was it only in the drama that this wealth of intellect and imagination shewed itself. To the same age belong Edmund Spenser (1553–1599), the immortal author of the *Faery Queene;* William Warner (1558–1609), also celebrated as a narrative poet; Samuel Daniel (1562–1619), Michael Drayton (1563–1631), and Joshua Sylvester (1563–1618), all poets of mark; George Chapman (1557–1634), no mean dramatic poet, but greater out of the drama; Sir John Harrington, the translator of Ariosto; and Edward Fairfax, the translator of Tasso; the 'metaphysical' poets, Sir John Davies (died 1626) and Dr John Donne (1573–1631); their successor, the religious poet, George Herbert (1593–1632), and not a few besides, whom there is not space to mention. Nor were the prose-writers of the age inferior to the poets. Among them were Sir Philip Sidney, the author of the pastoral romance of *Arcadia* (1554–1586); the great divine, Richard Hooker (1553–1600); Lord Bacon (1561–1626), the twin-intellect, so to speak, of Shakspeare; Sir Walter Raleigh (1552–1618); the antiquary, Camden (1551–1623); the historians, Hakluyt (1553–1616), Speed (1555–1629), and Stow (1525–1605); the great lawyer, Coke (1550–1634); Robert Burton, the author of the *Anatomy of Melancholy* (died 1640); and many others scarcely less distinguished. It seemed, indeed, as if the minds of this age in England were of inordinately large dimensions in every direction—great in erudition, great in speculative capacity, and great in imagination, all at once. As there are years of particularly rich harvest in the vegetable world, so the

intellectual crop in England, from the middle of Elizabeth's reign to the end of that of King James, was richer than that of any corresponding era of English history before or since. Scotland, it is curious to remark, did not share this literary fertility, the only Scottish literary names of note during this period being those of John Knox, the reformer (1505–1572); the celebrated scholar, poet, and historian, George Buchanan (1506–1582), whose writings, however, were chiefly in Latin; his royal pupil, James I., who was a busy writer of tracts and the like; the theologian and reformer, Andrew Melville (1545–1622); the mathematician, Napier, who was likewise a prose-writer (1550–1617); and the poets, Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington (1496–1586) and Sir William Drummond of Hawthornden (1585–1649). Drummond of Hawthornden may be regarded as the first of Scottish writers who were also British—the greater part of his literary life falling after the union of the two crowns (1603), by which the two nations were subjected to one rule. Drummond wrote in a language essentially the same as that of Shakspeare and Ben Jonson; and in this he set an example which was followed by most of his Scottish successors, though the Scottish dialect still continued to be used for popular literary purposes.

522. Passing the great age of Elizabeth and James, we come to one comprehending the reigns of Charles I., Charles II., and James II., and ending in 1688. This age divides itself, in literary respects, into three parts—the reign of Charles I.; the intermediate period of Puritan ascendancy under the Commonwealth; and the period subsequent to the Restoration. 1. The first period—or the reign of Charles I.—was, in the main, a continuation or prolongation of the great age of his predecessors—the sunset, so to speak, of a glorious day. Some of the giants of that age, such as Drayton, Ben Jonson, Massinger, Ford, Donne, Drummond, Coke, Herbert, and Burton, still survived; while new men, taught in their school, and exhibiting some of their characteristics, walked in their footsteps. Among these writers, more peculiarly belonging to the reign of Charles I., though born before it, and in

some cases outliving it, were—Charles himself, to whom some writings are ascribed; Phineas Fletcher, a didactic poet (1584–1650); Francis Quarles, an allegorical poet (1592–1644); George Wither, a miscellaneous poet (1588–1667); William Browne, a pastoral poet (1590–1645); the dramatist, James Shirley (1596–1666); the minor poets—Herrick (1591–1660), Crashaw (died 1650), and Sir John Suckling (1608–1643); the historian and scholar, Selden (1584–1654); and the theologians, Usher (1580–1655) and Chillingworth (1602–1644). 2. The literary activity of these men was interrupted by the civil wars; Puritanism became triumphant; the theatres were closed; and for a period of nearly twenty years all dramatic literature was extinguished, while such other literature as was produced partook more or less of the polemical spirit of the times. Among the writers whose mature age coincided with this intermediate period, and who may therefore be referred to it, were—the poet, Sir William Davenant (1605–1668); the poet, Edmund Waller (1605–1687); the philosopher, Hobbes (1588–1679); the prose-writer, Izaak Walton (1593–1683); the historian, Lord Clarendon (1608–1674); the great John Milton (1608–1674); his contemporaries, Samuel Butler, the author of *Hudibras* (1612–1680), Sir John Denham (1615–1688), and Abraham Cowley (1618–1667); the quaint, meditative, prose-writer, Sir Thomas Browne (1605–1682); the quaint historian, Thomas Fuller (1604–1661); and the great divine, Jeremy Taylor (1613–1667). But though all these writers belong, in respect of age, to the period of the Commonwealth, the works on which their fame depends were, for the most part, produced not during the Commonwealth period, but either before it, while Charles I. was still alive, or after the Restoration. This is well illustrated in the case of Milton, whose literary life divides itself into three parts—the first extending from his birth to 1640, during which he wrote his exquisite minor poems; the second, corresponding exactly with the period of the civil wars and the Commonwealth (1640–1660), during which he laid aside poetry, and wrote his magnificent controversial prose-treatises;

and the third, extending from the Restoration to his death in 1674, during which he wrote his *Paradise Lost* and other great poems. Butler's *Hudibras* was also produced after the Restoration; as well as the best works of Davenant, Waller, Hobbes, Clarendon, Browne, and Cowley. All these writers, therefore, may be regarded as belonging to the period after, as well as to the period before the Restoration. 3. More peculiarly writers of the Restoration, however, were a number of their junior contemporaries, whose literary career began with the reign of Charles II.. Of these, the greatest was the poet and miscellaneous writer, John Dryden (1632–1700). In the drama, which was the first form of literature to which Dryden turned his attention, when the theatres were reopened after the Restoration, he had formidable rivals in Villiers, Duke of Buckingham (1627–1688), Sir George Etherege (1636–1688), Sir Charles Sedley (1638–1701), William Wycherley (1640–1719), and Thomas Shadwell (1640–1692)—all of whom were distinguished as comic dramatists; and in Thomas Otway (1651–1685), Nathaniel Lee (died 1691), and John Crowne, whose best works were their tragedies. The dramatic literature of this age, and especially the comic drama, partook of the profligacy of the court; and it was fortunate for Dryden's fame that he was led in his later life to abandon the drama for other forms of literature. Besides the wits and dramatists, however, to whom Dryden belonged, there were other writers of this age whose works were of a more serious character, and free from the taint of the prevailing profligacy. Among these were—the poet, Andrew Marvell (1620-1678); the theologian, Isaac Barrow (1630–1677); the learned philosophical writer, Cudworth (1617–1688); the thoughtful divine, Archbishop Leighton; and the famous John Bunyan (1628–1688), author of the *Pilgrim's Progress*.

523. The Revolution of 1688 produced a change in the literary tendencies as well as in the political condition of Great Britain. The modern form of the controversy between Whiggism and Toryism, then first introduced into British politics, introduced itself also in literature, and

most of the wits of the three succeeding reigns—those of William III. (1688–1702), Anne (1702–1714), and George I. (1714–1727)—lent their literary services either to the Whigs or to the Tories. Dryden survived into this age, as did also Dryden's coevals, the philosopher, Locke (1632–1704), and the statesman and miscellaneous writer, Sir William Temple (1628–1700), both of whom differed from Dryden in being Whigs. Writers of the same age were—Bishop Burnet, the historian and polemic (1643–1715); Bishop Atterbury (1663–1731); Bishop Tillotson (1630–1694); and Dr South (1633–1716). The true representative men of this era, however—the chiefs of the 'Queen Anne wits,' properly so called—were the famous Dr Jonathan Swift, Dean of St Patrick's, Dublin (1667–1745); Joseph Addison, the essayist and poet (1672–1719); and Alexander Pope (1688–1744). Swift and Pope were, in the main, Tories; Addison was a Whig. These, however, were only the most conspicuous men of a large cluster, including not a few others of hardly inferior celebrity—such as the Whig poet, Matthew Prior (1664–1721); the comic dramatists, William Congreve (1669–1729), Sir John Vanbrugh (1672–1726), and George Farquhar (1678–1707); the great novelist, Daniel Defoe (1670–1731); the genial humorist, Sir Richard Steele, Addison's colleague in the *Tatler* and *Spectator* (1670–1729); and the poet, John Gay (1688–1732). Minor writers of the day were—Lord Shaftesbury, the essayist (1671–1713); Lord Bolingbroke, the essayist and politician (1678–1751); the dramatists, Thomas Southerne (1660–1748) and Colley Cibber (1671–1757); the tragic poets, Rowe (1673–1718) and Hughes (1677–1720); and the poets, Tickell (1676–1740), Parnell (1679–1718), Philips (1676–1708), Blackmore (1658–1729), Garth (1670–1718), &c. The metaphysicians, Clarke (1675–1729) and Berkeley (1684–1753), likewise belong to this age, as well as one or two Scottish political writers, of whom Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun (1653–1716) was perhaps the most remarkable. English periodical literature may be said first to have developed itself during the reigns of William and Queen Anne. There had, indeed, been news-sheets in circulation

as early as the times of Charles I. and Charles II.; but journalism did not become a regular profession till after the Revolution of 1688, and it was not till 1709 that London possessed a daily newspaper. The *Tatler*, begun in 1709 by Steele, was the first literary periodical, and the parent of that now so extensive class of journals in Great Britain. On the whole, the literary characteristics of this age, as compared with its predecessors, were the prevalence of political party-spirit, either in the form of Whiggism or in that of Toryism, in all that was written; and the preference shewn for wit, neat expression, and the lighter graces of style, over depth of thought or power of imagination. Swift was perhaps the man of most forcible and earnest mind of the whole period; but the exquisite wit of Pope, and the poetical form of his writings, give him, on the whole, the higher title.

524. The next age of British literature extends from 1727 to 1786, and includes the reign of George II. (1727–1760), and the first half of that of his successor, George III. Perhaps the fittest representative man of this age of our literature is Dr Samuel Johnson (1709–1784), whose literary life almost exactly coincides with it. Johnson's works were very miscellaneous, and in all of them he gave evidence of singular strength and energy of mind; but even his works do not indicate the extent of the influence which, by his social powers and his honest though rough dogmatism, he exerted over his contemporaries. But, though Johnson was on the whole the literary potentate of his age, there were many of his contemporaries, both earlier and later, who excelled him in their respective departments, and exhibited in these departments finer and purer veins of genius. Thus, among its poets, the age possessed Dr Young, the author of the *Night Thoughts* (1681–1765); the still truer poet, James Thomson, the author of the *Seasons* (1700–1748); the exquisite minor poets, Dyer (1700–1758), Shenstone (1714–1763), Gray (1716–1771), and Collins (1720–1756); the more ambitious poet, Mark Akenside, the author of the *Pleasures of the Imagination* (1721–1770); and, lastly, Johnson's own bosom-friend, the inimitable Oliver

Goldsmith (1728–1774), whose poems form but a small portion of his delightful contributions to our literature. The same age produced a remarkable series of novelists—Samuel Richardson (1689–1761), whose literary career began late in life, when he published in succession three novels, which were at once recognised as examples of a new species of fictitious literature; his successor and rival, Henry Fielding (1707–1754); Fielding's rival, Tobias Smollett (1720–1771); Laurence Sterne (1713–1768); and a considerable number of others, among whom may be mentioned Henry Mackenzie (1745–1831) and Miss Fanny Burney (died 1840). An equally distinguished series of historians characterised this age—David Hume, whose *History of England* has not yet been superseded (1711–1776); Thomas Warton, the historian of English poetry (1728–1790); Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes (1726–1792); Dr Henry (1718–1790); Dr Robertson (1722–1793); and, greater than all, as a historian, Edward Gibbon (1737–1794). This was also the age of some of the greatest English and Scotch metaphysical writers—Butler, Hartley, Hume, Reid, Adam Smith, &c. In this list might be included Edmund Burke (1730–1797), who, however, deserves a place by himself, not only as a great orator, but as the author of many writings, as rich in thought as they are splendid in style. Among other writers of more or less note, all belonging to this age, are the following:—the didactic and descriptive poets, Green, Robert Blair, Somerville, Armstrong, Falconer, and Beattie; the satiric poet, Charles Churchill (1731–1764); the writers of tragedies, Richard Glover (1712–1785) and the Rev. John Home (1722–1808); the unfortunate boy of genius, Chatterton (1752–1770); the theologian and critic, Bishop Warburton (1698–1779); the orientalist, Sir William Jones (1746–1794); the critics and general writers, Dr Campbell (1709–1796), Priestley (1733–1804), Dr Hugh Blair (1718–1799), and Bishop Percy (1728–1811); the versatile Horace Walpole (1717–1797); the prose-dramatists, Foote (died 1777), Colman (1733–1794), Cumberland (1732–1811), and Sheridan (1751–1816); James Macpherson, the author of *Ossian* (1738–1796);

and the unknown author of the *Letters of Junius*. Many of the authors of the foregoing list, it will have been observed, including some of the most distinguished of them —such as Thomson, Smollett, Hume, Robertson, Reid, and Adam Smith—were Scotchmen by birth; which shews that by this time standard English had become the common literary language of both parts of the island. Scotland, however, possessed in this age two poets of distinction who used the native Scottish dialect—Allan Ramsay, the author of the *Gentle Shepherd* (1686-1758), and Robert Fergusson (1750–1774).

525. The present age of British literature may date from 1786, or about the middle of the reign of George III. About that time, a new and powerful impulse was given to our literature, and particularly to our poetical literature, by the poetry of the English recluse, William Cowper (1731–1800), and the Scottish ploughman, Robert Burns (1759–1796). In the works of these poets, and especially of the latter, there was a freshness of imagination, a fervour of feeling, and a truth to nature in description, which had been all but wanting in British poetry since the middle of the seventeenth century—Dryden, Pope, and the other intermediate poets, with one or two exceptions, having, with all their great excellences, on the whole, had far more artificial notions of poetry than such older poets as Chaucer, Spenser, Shakspeare, and Milton. The works of Cowper and Burns revealed this; and the lesson was further enforced, both by example and by precept, by William Wordsworth (1770–1850), who openly announced himself as the founder of a new school of English poetry. Wordsworth's doctrines as to the nature of poetry, as well as the works in which he exemplified these doctrines, provoked a violent controversy, which is not yet ended: on the whole, however, it can neither be doubted that he was himself a great and true poet, nor that his influence on the poetry and on the whole literature of the last sixty years has been vast and beneficial. Samuel Coleridge (1773–1834), one of Wordsworth's earliest friends and admirers, illustrated Wordsworth's principles in beautiful poems of his own; and Southey (1774–1843) may be also regarded as

trained in the school of Wordsworth. Poets of independent genius, and born after Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey, were Lord Byron (1787–1824), whose fame was European, even in his own lifetime; Campbell (1777–1844); Shelley (1792–1822); and Keats (1796–1820). Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832), though he was first known as a poet, acquired his world-wide renown rather by his unparalleled genius in prose-fiction. To name all the literary contemporaries, earlier and later of these men, or to enumerate their literary successors now alive, is of course impossible. It is sufficient to mention under the former head such men as Sir James Mackintosh (1765–1832), Jeffrey (1773–1851), Dr Chalmers (1780–1847), Sydney Smith (1768–1845), Thomas Moore (1780–1852), and Professor Wilson (1788–1854); and under the latter, such men as De Quincey, Leigh Hunt, Macaulay, Carlyle, Grote, Whewell, John Stuart Mill, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Dickens, Thackeray, Tennyson, and Browning.

526. By way of appendix to this sketch of the history of British literature, it is necessary just to glance at the state of literature in America, since the American colonies of Britain became an independent nation. Prior to that time, America had produced some writers of note, of whom the metaphysician and theologian, Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758), was by far the most remarkable. The name of Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) stands as the representative of the American genius in literature at the epoch of the separation of the colonies from the mother-country. Since that time, the American nation has had such scope for its energies in practical enterprise of all kinds, as to have had little leisure for the cultivation of an original literature, distinct from that which it possesses in common with ourselves. In such names, however, as those of the novelist, Cooper; the still living miscellaneous writer, Washington Irving; the living historian, Prescott; the theological and general writer, Channing (1781–1842); the living essayist and philosophical writer, Emerson; the late lamented Margaret Fuller; and the poets Bryant, Poe, Longfellow, and others—there is ample promise of a

future American literature as various as our own. Meanwhile, in newspaper literature, America is already in advance of us, in as far, at least, as quantity is concerned.

527. (2.) *German Literature.*—Luther (1488–1546) not only reformed the German church; he first taught the Germans, by his translation of the Scriptures and by his own numerous hymns and other popular writings, the capacities for every literary purpose of their noble tongue. Luther, accordingly, with all allowance for earlier efforts in German (see MEDIEVAL HISTORY, § 409), may be called the father of vernacular German literature. For more than a hundred and fifty years after his death, however, very little was done in imitation of his example. The great German writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries —such as the theologian, Melancthon (1497–1560), the historian, Sleidan (1506–1556), the philologist, Buxtorf (1564–1629), the philosopher, Kepler (1571–1630), the theologian, Voss (1577–1649), the historian and jurist, Puffendorf (1631–1694), and the philosopher, Leibnitz (1646–1716)—preferred Latin as the vehicle of their compositions; and Leibnitz, when he did write in a modern language, used French. The writers in the German vernacular at this period were men of much less note—chiefly popular poets, who attempted to write German verses after the classic models. Of these, the best was Opitz (1597–1639). The mystic prose-writer, Jacob Boehme (1575–1624), likewise deserves mention.

528. The first half of the eighteenth century witnessed the beginnings of a true vernacular literature in Germany. Gottsched (1700–1766), Hagedorn (1708–1754), Gärtner (1712–1791), Rabener (1714–1771), Gellert (1715–1769), Kleist (1715–1759), Kästner (1719–1800), Lechtwer (1719–1783), Gleim (1719–1803), Uz (1720–1796), Götz (1721–1781), and Rammler (1725–1798), were popular as lyrical, descriptive, or satirical poets at this period. Greater than any of these was the religious poet, Klopstock (1724–1803), and the comic poet, Zacharia (1726–1777). A certain pedantic style and false taste, arising from the desire to imitate French or classic models, characterised most of this early German poetry; and it

was reserved for Lessing (1729–1781), a man of extraordinary powers, both as a critic and as an original writer, to emancipate his countrymen from their slavish adherence to French and classical forms, and to lay down healthy principles for their future guidance. Somewhat junior contemporaries of Lessing were the poets, Gessner (1730–1787) and Wieland (1730–1813), both of whom, but especially the second, attained a high celebrity. The German language had already been enriched and rendered plastic by the labours of these men, and of some minor poets, as well as by those of a series of such prose-writers as the antiquary and art-critic, Winkelmann (1718–1768), the philosopher, Kant (1724–1804), the philologist, Heyne (1729–1812), and the philosopher and critic, Herder (1741–1803), when a man appeared who was destined to ennoble that language in a still higher degree by works taking rank with the master-pieces of any literature, ancient or modern. This was the famous Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832). Goethe first appeared as an author about the year 1770; and from that time till his death he retained his place at the head of German literature, sending forth from time to time poems, novels, and writings of almost every known variety, characterised, some by the fire of genius, and some by the calm, clear, and deep wisdom of a sage. The effect of Goethe's example on the literary activity of Germany was prodigious. Under his shelter, as it were, there grew up writers of all kinds, doing justice to their various powers in works befitting them. Of these writers, two, the poet, Schiller (1759–1805), and the novelist, humorist, and critic, Jean Paul Richter (1763–1825), were men almost comparable, in the degree of their genius, to Goethe himself. Inferior men, but still of excellence in their respective spheres, were the poet, Bürger (1748–1794); the two Schlegels, Augustus William (1767–1845) and Frederick (1774–1829); the dramatist, Kotzebue (1761–1819); the romance-writer, Hoffman; the poet, Körner (died 1813); and the translator, Voss (1751–1823). Miscellaneous prose-writers, contemporary with Goethe, were the historians, Müller (1752–1809) and Niebuhr (1776–1831);

and the great philosophers, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Schelling, &c. Since Goethe's death, the greatest names in German literature have been those of Tieck, Chamisso, Uhland, and Henry Heine. At present, though the intellectual activity of Germany is universal and intense, it is rather in works of learning and research, and in works of profound philosophic thought, than in works of a popular literary character, that the Germans excel.

529. (3.) *Dutch Literature.*—That Holland and the Netherlands have borne their fair share in the intellectual work of the human race during the last three centuries and a half, is sufficiently proved by the recollection of such men as the following, all of them of Dutch birth—the scholar and wit, Erasmus (1467–1536); the historian, scholar, and jurist, Grotius (1583–1645); the philosopher, Spinoza (1623–1677); and the scholars, Gronovius (1645–1716), Burmann (1668–1741), Hemsterhuis (1685–1766), Wetstein (1693–1754), and Hoogeveen (1712–1794). Holland was also peculiarly the land of Protestant theology; and the Dutch theologian, Vitringa (1659–1722), and others, are held in great respect by Protestant theologians everywhere. All these illustrious men, however, wrote in Latin; and the vernacular Dutch literature is rather scanty, consisting chiefly of writings by poets and prose-writers popular in Holland during the last century, but scarcely known out of it. Of older Dutch poets, Cats (1577–1660) is perhaps the most celebrated. French is now generally spoken by educated persons in Holland.

530. (4.) *Scandinavian Literature* (see MEDIEVAL HISTORY, § 410).—Although little attention has yet been paid by foreigners to the two Scandinavian literatures—that of Denmark and that of Sweden—these literatures have been sufficiently rich and various. 1. *Danish Literature* (in which that of the *Norwegians* is included) exhibits a succession of important names, of which the following rank highest in the estimation of the Danes themselves:—Arreboe (1587–1637), a narrative poet; Kingo, a religious poet; Sorterup, a satirical poet (died 1722); Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754), a miscellaneous writer, both in prose and verse, a Norwegian by birth, reverenced by the

Danes as the Spaniards reverence Cervantes, and pronounced by competent critics of other nations to have been a man of true and most original comic humour; Holberg's contemporaries, the historian, Gram; the satirist, Falster; the lyrist, Tullin; and the critic and miscellaneous writer, Sneedorf; Johann Ewald (1743–1781), a lyric and dramatic poet, ranking as high in this character as Holberg does in comedy and satire; Ewald's contemporaries—Wessel, Bull, Trojel, Biehl, Storm, Fasting, and Samsoe, all poets or dramatists of note; the historian, Suhm (1728–1798); and the miscellaneous prose-writer, Birkner (1756–1798); Tode, a comic and humorous poet (1736–1807); the contemporary poets—Rein, Thaarup, and Pram, and the novelist, Hasse, all of whom died in the year 1821; the famous philologist, Rask (1784–1832); the historian, Moller (1779–1834); and the miscellaneous writer, Rahbek (1760–1836); and, finally, a number of writers recently deceased or still living, among whom may be mentioned, the poet and dramatist, Oehlenschläger; the historian, Grundtwig; the dramatists, Heiberg, Hauch, Hansen, and Hertz; the philologist and antiquary, Petersen; and the novelists and romance-writers, Kruse and Hans Christian Andersen. 2. *Swedish Literature* exhibits a similar succession of names, of which the following are the most remarkable:—the dramatist, Messenius (1584–1637); the poets, Gyllenhjelm (1574–1650) and Stjernhjelm (1598–1672); the historians, Peringskiold (1654–1720) and Pontoppidan (1698–1764); the scholar and prose-writer, Rudbeck (1630–1702); his son, Rudbeck the younger, who was a poet (1756–1777); the general writer and critic, Dalin (1708–1763), highly admired, and styled the 'Swedish Addison;' the novelist, Mörk (1714–1763); and the poetess, Nordenflycht (1718–1763); the philologist, Ihre (1707–1780); the lyric poet, Bellman, a great favourite with the Swedes (1745–1795); his contemporaries—the poets, Lidner (1769–1793), Gyllenberg (1731–1808), Kellgren (1751–1795), and Celsius (1716–1794); the poetess, Lenngren (1754–1817); the philosophic writer, Hoijer (1757–1812); and the novelist, Wahlberg (died 1821); the poets, Stagnelius

(1793–1823), Leopold (1756–1829), Stjernstolpe (1774–1834), and Nicander (1799–1839)—all highly esteemed; and, lastly, among living or recently deceased writers, the epic poet and historian, Ling; the historian and poet, Geijer; the poet, Atterborn; and the novelist, Frederika Bremer.

531. III. LITERATURE OF THE SLAVONIAN NATIONS (see MEDIEVAL HISTORY, § 414). (1.) *Polish Literature.*—The 'golden age' of Polish literature extends from the beginning of the sixteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth century. The intellectual stimulus of the Reformation was powerfully felt in Poland; and the tolerant policy of the Polish king, Sigismund I. (1507–1548), and his immediate successors, in the matter of religion, enabled both Catholics and Protestants to publish their thoughts on all subjects freely, and to found schools in which their children were educated in their own principles. No fewer than eleven complete translations of the Scriptures into Polish—some by Catholics, some by orthodox Protestants, and others by Socinians—were published within a century after the Reformation; while, at the same time, works of theological controversy abounded. Among the more general literary names of Poland during this century, were those of the poets, Nicholas Rey (1515–1568), John Kochanowski (1530–1584), Szarzynski (died 1581), Rybinski, Grochowski, Klonowicz, and Szymonowicz or Simonides (born 1558), the last of whom was highly celebrated, and wrote both in Polish and Latin; those of the Latin poets and scholars, Krzycki, Dantiscus, Janicki, and Sarbiewski; and those of the vernacular and Latin prose-writers, Modvzewski (born 1506), Ovzechowski (born 1512), Goslicki (1537–1601), Bielski (1500–1575), Piasecki (1583–1649). The sciences, both physical and metaphysical, were also at this time much cultivated in Poland; and besides the great Copernicus (1473–1543), Poland had eminent mathematicians and astronomers in Martin of Olkucz (died 1540), Grzebski (1526–1572), and Brozek (1581–1652); and eminent naturalists in Sendzevig (1565–1645), Spuzynski, and others. The illiberal policy of Sigismund III.

(1587–1632), the effects of which were not fully visible till after his death, interrupted the intellectual development of Poland; the Jesuits obtained the entire control of the schools and colleges; all freedom was suppressed; and from the beginning of the seventeenth century till the time of the first partition of Poland (1773), was a period of national decline intellectually as well as politically. To this age, however, belong a few literary men of note—the poets, Twardowski (1600–1660) and Bardzinski; the historians, Kochowski, Rudawski, and Starovolski; the scientific writer, Hevelius (1611–1687); the miscellaneous Latin writer, Johnstone (1603–1675), a Pole of Scottish descent; and the theologians and scholars, Konarski (born 1700) and Zaluski. The powerful excitement communicated to the nation by the first partition tended to rouse a spirit of literary as well as political patriotism among the Poles; and the age intervening between that first partition and the final annihilation of Poland in 1795, was the period of the literary activity of the eminent historian and poet, Naruszewicz (1733–1790); of Count Ignatius Krasicki (1734–1801), whom the Poles regard as all in all their most powerful and popular writer, and whose best works are satirical in their character; of the historian and archæologist, Alberhandy (1732–1808); of the lyric poet, Trembecki (died 1812); and of the minor poets, Wengierski and Kniaznin. The patriotic spirit visible in the writings of these men communicated itself to their successors; and since the destruction of the Polish nation in 1795, unhappy Poland has not more powerfully exhibited its continued vitality by its valour in the field, than it has done in the works of a series of splendid writers, all burning with fervour in the cause of their lost liberty. Among these, the greatest are—the poet, Niemcewicz (1765–1841); the profound and learned historian, Lelewel (born 1786); and the poet and miscellaneous writer, Adam Mickiewicz, born in 1798. There are not a few other Polish writers of celebrity, chiefly among the exiles now living in France and England.

(2.) *Russian Literature.*—Passing over a few theological writers, inferior poets and historians, and chroniclers,

produced in Russia after the expulsion of the Tatars from the country, we may date the commencement of the literary as well as of the political history of the Russians from the reign of Peter the Great (1696–1725). To that reign belong Prokopovich, Archbishop of Novgorod, a miscellaneous writer of talent; Kopievich, Chilkoff, and one or two other authors, patronised by Peter, and employed by him in the establishment of schools, &c., among the Russians. Later Russian authors of the eighteenth century were—the witty poet and satirist, Kantimir (1708–1744); the scholar, translator, and versifier, Trediakowski (1703–1769); the historian, Tatischeff (1686–1750); Soomarokoff, a dramatic poet, and the creator of the Russian national drama (1718–1777); Volkoff, another dramatic poet (died 1763); Kheraskoff, a voluminous epic poet on subjects of Russian history (1733–1807); the poet and scholar, Petroff (1736–1799); the poet and dramatist, Bogdanovich (1743–1803); the powerful lyric poet, Deyavin (1745–1816); Chemnitzer, a writer of fables (1744–1784); Kniagnin, a very popular dramatist (1742–1791); Golikoff (1735–1801), an enthusiastic historian of the reign of Peter the Great; Novikoff, a historical and miscellaneous writer (1744–1818); and Kapnist, a descriptive poet (died 1823). Karamsin in prose, and Dmietrieff in verse, represent the transition of the Russian literature of the eighteenth into that of the present century; they did much to improve the Russian language by ridding it of barbarisms and also of foreign words and idioms. Subsequent writers of eminence have been—Kriloff, a popular dramatist and writer of fables; Viazemski, a satirist and general poet (born 1792); the dramatist, Shakhovskory (born 1771); the celebrated lyric and satirical poet, Alexander Pushkin (1799–1837), a Russian of negro descent, regarded by the Russians as their greatest poet, and in the style of whose genius they discern a resemblance to Byron; Rileyeff, a poet of great power and of daring character, executed in 1826, as one of the chiefs of the conspiracy against the Emperor Nicholas on his accession; the novelists, Bulgarin, Bestujeff, and Zagoskin; and the poets, Batiooshkoff and

Davidoff. The Russians are also indefatigable as translators from other languages, as philologists, and as collectors of historical materials. They have a considerable number of literary and scientific periodicals; and, though the government permits no political publications except under strict censorship, scholarship, science, and light literature are encouraged. (3.) *Bohemian Literature.*—Under this head are included the literary productions of the more important of the Slavonian populations attached to the Austrian Empire—namely, the Bohemians proper, and their neighbours, the Moravians and the Slavonians of Hungary. The Bohemians, using the term in this wide sense, have always been among the most intellectual members of the Slavonian race; and their literary monuments are more ancient than those of either the Poles or the Russians (see MEDIEVAL HISTORY, § 414). The impulse communicated to the Bohemian mind by the reformation of Huss, had the effect of keeping up and even increasing the intellectual activity of the Bohemians; and from the time of Huss to that of the Thirty Years' War—that is, from 1415 to 1618—the vernacular language of Bohemia was enriched by a series of historical and theological writings of very high excellence. The learned men of Bohemia at this time were distinguished from those of other countries by their preference for their own language over the Latin; and one translation of the Scriptures into Bohemian, executed towards the close of the sixteenth century, is said to be quite singular for its accuracy and beauty. The Thirty Years' War plunged Bohemia into a state of political and religious servitude, during which the Jesuits did their utmost to arrest all intellectual progress in the country, as well as to destroy the monuments of its fine Hussite and Protestant literature; and it is only within the last eighty years that the Bohemians have again given evidences of the continuance of those qualities among them which earned them so much consideration in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. During these eighty years, Bohemia has produced scholars and historians of high mark, almost all of whom have devoted themselves to the patriotic labour of illustrating the past

history of their own nation, and of the Slavonian race in general, with a view to prepare the way for a regeneration of Bohemia and for a future era of Slavonian action in Europe. Among these men, the most remarkable have been Count Kinsky, Pelzel, Prochazka, Kamerus, and some others, who towards the close of last century led a movement for the revived study and use of the national Bohemian language in preference to the German, which the Austrian government had been trying to substitute for it; Joseph Dombrowsky (1753–1827), a man of great learning and of simple life, who acquired immense popularity throughout the whole of Slavonian Europe by his enthusiasm in the national cause, and by his valuable historical writings in its support; Stach, Leski, Palkowic, Rosnay, and others, natives either of Bohemia or of Hungary, and distinguished as philologists; Puchmayer, Jungman, and others, who laboured assiduously in the work of collecting and republishing the ancient national poetry of Bohemia; John Kollar of Pesth (born 1793), already mentioned (§ 395) as a fervid national poet and historian, and as the author of the modern Pan-Slavic movement; Francis Palacky (born 1798), the author of a complete and elaborate history of Bohemia; and Paul Joseph Schaffaric, a Slavonian of Hungary (born 1795), who ranks as the greatest living Slavonian scholar, and one of the most learned men of the age. Altogether, the Bohemians are at present, in intellectual respects, the foremost population of the Austrian Empire. (4.) *Servian Literature, or Literature of the Servians, Bulgarians, &c.* —This literature is of comparatively recent origin; for, though the Servians possessed an extensive body of national songs, which had come down to them from very early ages, and on which they nourished their spirit of independence during their subjection to the Turks, it was not till towards the close of the last century that they used their national Servian dialect for the purposes of writing. The few works of a historical or theological character written by Servian authors before that time, were in a peculiar artificial dialect of mingled Bohemian and Russian idioms. The use of pure Servian for the purposes of

writing, dates from the first beginnings of that movement among the Servians which led to their revolt from the Turkish yoke; and the example was set by Obradovich (1739–1811), one of the leaders in that movement. Since the successful issue of the war of Servian independence, the Servians have naturally been enthusiastic in the cultivation of their national Servian tongue; and among not a few popular Servian writers of the last thirty years, Demetrius Davidovich and Vook Stephanovich, both distinguished as collectors and editors of the ancient songs of Servia, and Simeon Milutinovich, an original poet, may be mentioned as the chief.

532. IV. LITERATURE OF THE MODERN GREEKS (see MEDIEVAL HISTORY, § 382).—Under the Turks, the Greeks of both sides of the Ægean, but more especially of Greece Proper and the Peloponnesus, kept alive the memory of their old independence, as well as their hatred to their Turkish masters, in popular ballads and songs, which were sung or recited by the peasantry among their hills. As among the Servians, these songs were collected and made to play a part in the war of independence (1820–1832); about which time also the young Greek patriots were seized with a passion for the revival of the literary credit in their own noble tongue. Accordingly, the modern Greeks can now exhibit a considerable body, not only of popular songs and legends, but also of more formal writings, both poetical and historical, produced either during the war with the Turks, or since the establishment of modern Greece as a kingdom under Otho. Athens, like other capitals, has its newspapers, its periodicals, and its literary societies. The language of the modern Greeks is generally called the Romaic; but, in fact, with only a few changes of idiom and grammatical structure, it is the same language as that used by Plato, Sophocles, and Demosthenes. Indeed, it is the object of the modern Greeks to root out barbarisms from the language, and to return, as closely as possible, to pure ancient Greek.

533. V. LITERATURES OF THE ORIENTAL NATIONS. (1.) *Arabic Literature.*—Since the subversion of the great Arabian Empire of the middle ages, there have been few

or no Arabian writings of any importance; and such native Arabian scholars as have lived in the different countries of the Turkish Empire where Arabic is still spoken, have found sufficient employment in the study of the remains of the older Arabic literature of the middle ages, from the Koran downwards. (2.) *Persian Literature.*—The Persians, having retained their independence as a nation, have also kept up the literary use of their language, by the production, from time to time, of historical writings, tales, and poems; but none of these Persian works of the last three centuries and a half are at all comparable to the corresponding works of Persian historians and poets prior to the sixteenth century. (3.) *Turkish Literature.*—More important than either the Arabic or the Persian literature, since the close of the middle ages, has been the literature of the Turks, who since that period have been the dominating race in the East. An important historical work in one of the Turkish dialects—that generally spoken in Turkistan—is the autobiography of the famous Sultan Baber, the conqueror of India, embracing the events of his life from 1494 to 1531. The dialect of Turkish, however, which is richest in literature, is that of the Turks Osmanlis, or Turks proper. In this language there are not only a great many translations from the Arabic and from the European languages, but also a number of histories, poems, and ethical writings, the works of native Turks of the last four centuries. (4.) *Indian Literature.*—The great age of Indian literature, like that of Arabic, belongs to the past, and, indeed, to a period in the past long antecedent to the era of the Arabs; but India has, within the last four centuries, produced a number of native scholars who have employed themselves in the study of the ancient Sanscrit, as well as in compiling works in the chief modern languages of India—such as the Hindostani, the Tamul, &c. The study of English science and literature now forms a great part of the education of the Hindoo youth. (5.) *Chinese Literature.*—Among the most interesting facts relative to the great Chinese people, is the fact, that from time immemorial they have had a most abundant literature, which they still keep up by perpetual additions; but

respecting the special history of Chinese literature during the last three or four centuries, as compared with its previous history, we have almost no information. It is said that one of the complaints on which the Chinese rest their present attempt to subvert the Tatar dynasty is, that during the rule of that dynasty literature has languished and its professors have been discouraged.

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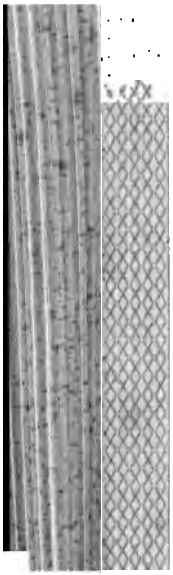
Edinburgh:
Printed by W. & R. Chambers.



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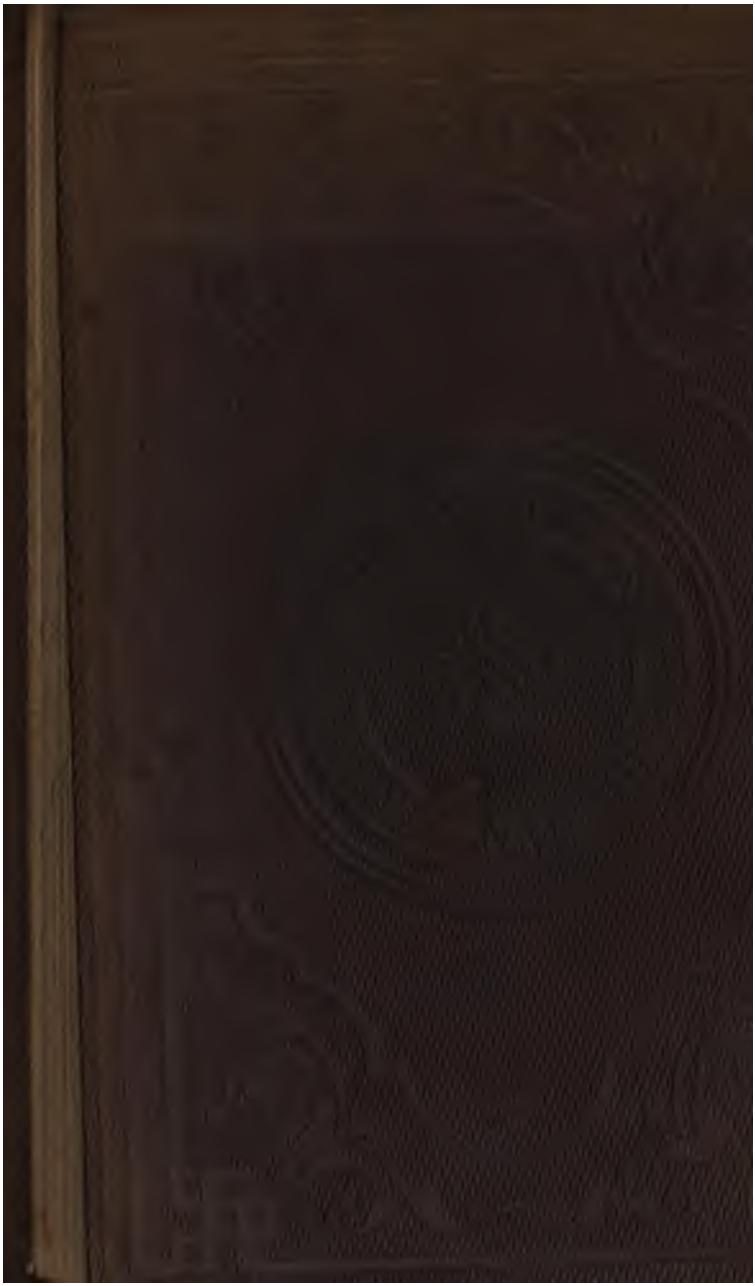
Naval and Mi... ...European Nations

By LASCELLES *Wra...* ...kin, Turkish Conte...